SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS

OF

TRAVANCORE,

For the first time brought to notice with their dates determined by Inscriptions.

BY

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Dedicated

TO

HIS HIGHNESS

SRI PATMANABHA DASA VANCHI BALA

SIR RAMA VARMA TIRUVADI

KULASEKHARA KIRITAPATI MANNEY SULTAN

MAHARAJA RAJA RAMARAJA BAHADUR

SHAMSHER JANG,

KNIGHT GRAND COMMANDER OF THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA,

FELLOW OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY,

MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE,

GRACIOUSLY RULING OVER VÊṆÂḌ IN THE KOLLAM YEAR 1069,

BY HIS HIGHNESS' DEVOTED SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In submitting to the public the first fruits of my study of Travancore Inscriptions, my first and most agreeable duty is to acknowledge my grateful obligations to my gracious Sovereign. His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to sanction for a year in December 1891 a monthly grant of 50 Sirkar Rupees for the maintenance of an establishment I had started some time previously to find out and take fac-similes of old stone inscriptions in Travancore. I am indebted, therefore, to His Highness' Government to the extent of Rs. 582-14-9, which I have utilized in the undertaking, and for which accounts have been from time to time submitted. But the above figures can scarcely give any adequate idea of the full support the cause received in consequence of the measure. So inveterate and widespread in Travancore is the common Indian mania for Government employment that the simple consciousness that a rupee comes, not from private funds, but from the Government treasury, is sufficient to lead to its bulging out twice or thrice in value in the distorted vision of those for whose services it might be paid. I do not think the amount I have had to invest in the concern from my own pocket, both before the date of the Government grant and since its discontinuance, though not much less when expressed in dry mathematical figures, has ever proved half as attractive in the eyes of my employees, or half as efficient in exacting steady work from them. Not only poor mortals, but the gods and goddesses themselves would appear to be guilty of the same partiality! For

instance, the doors of temples that cannot be opened except at stated hours, to private parties, for fear of offending the divine denizens thereof, fly open whenever convenient, without any visible dangers following the profane act, when the same parties call for the identical purpose, but on the receipt of a small pittance from the Government treasury; and stranger still, the deities inside are reported to change their temper and resume their original sullen mood, when once it is known that that pittance comes no more from the public exchequer! I owe, therefore, as much to His Highness' Government for the indirect moral influence the timely grant secured for my self-imposed task, as for its actual and veritable value. But all this is nothing compared to the encouragement I have personally received at the hands of my Sovereign, whose frequent and appreciative inquiries uniformly lightened the burden of my dreary labours. I can never be sufficiently grateful to His Highness the Maharaja for the interest His Highness has always evinced in the work, and also for the proud privilege His Highness has accorded me of associating His Highness' name with this humble brochure.

I am equally thankful to H. B. Grigg, Esq., C.I.E., the British Resident, to whose kind and encouraging words I owe my first incentive to the work. My thanks are also due to the Travancore Government Lecture Committee for having permitted these lectures to be delivered under their auspices on three successive Saturday evenings, March 24th and 31st, and April 7th, 1894. I should also thank my friend Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar for the intelligent sympathy he has always evinced in my work and for his kindness in reading the proofs.

It behoves me to add a word of explanation why I have chosen to put my results in the form of popular lectures. It was not without much doubt and discussion within myself that I decided on adopting this course. Epigraphy is

one of those auxiliary practical sciences, in which any one with the least culture might make himself useful, if but sufficient interest be roused in him. In a country so devoid of history and so deficient even in *reliable data* for historical purposes, it cannot but be well to enlist the sympathy, if not also the services, of the general public in epigraphical work, at least in the way of discovering and bringing to notice the existence of inscriptions. So little do inscriptions now attract attention that men, often very intelligent and sometimes fairly educated as well, are perfectly unaware of their existence, even though their daily avocation leads them almost every hour to the spot, perhaps not infrequently to spend the best part of the day in wasting the very stone bearing the record, by squatting on it. Even to produce the bare consciousness that inscriptions are not the idle handiwork of antedeluvian *Bhûtams* or demons, worthy only of as much notice as the moss that grows upon them, seems desirable, since it may have at least the negative benefit of preventing wanton mischief being done with them. At any rate, I should be personally glad if at least one result would follow from a better knowledge of the value of these ancient documents, (*i.e.*) if I am not treated as a fantastic faddist when I next go in search of inscriptions, and am spared many an amusing philosophical reflection, scarcely behind my back, on the incalculable diversities of human tastes. But for the difficulty of reaching the scientific public, I would have, for considerations like these, even gone a step further and published these results in Tamil and Malayalam, a thought which I have not yet abandoned. I believe, therefore, the popular garb of these lectures will be readily overlooked, as well as such digressions and details in them as might be judged out of place in a paper prepared for a purely scientific Society or Journal. It is nevertheless hoped that nothing has been admitted which would detract from the accuracy essential to historical investigations. Being, however, provisional throughout,

my conclusions are open to correction; and amendments and suggestions will be most thankfully received and acted on from whatever quarter they may come. To facilitate such help, I add in the Appendix my readings of the documents here made use of, and propose to lodge the fac-similes themselves in the Trivandrum Public Museum.

My thanks are due to Messrs. Addison & Co. for the characteristic neatness and accuracy with which they have got up this pamphlet.

HARVEYPURAM,
TRIVANDRUM,
June 1894.
P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A.

TRANSLITERATION.

Diacritical marks have been used as sparingly as possible. The following are the few adopted :—

அ=a, ஆ=â, இ=i, ஈ=î, உ=u, ஊ=û, எ=e, ஏ=ê, ஐ=ai, ஒ=o, ஓ=ô, ஔ=au; ங்=ṅ, ச்=ch, ஞ்=ñ, ட்=ṭ, ண்=ṇ, த்=t, ல்=l, ள்=ḷ, ழ்=ḻ, ற்=ṟ, ഡ്=ḍ, ദ്=d; h is added to mark the aspirates.

Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore

FOR THE FIRST TIME BROUGHT TO NOTICE WITH THEIR DATES DETERMINED BY INSCRIPTIONS.

It was His Highness the late Maha Rajah of Travancore who observed in one of his public lectures that if India could be considered a microcosm of our Globe, Travancore could be with greater justification regarded as the epitome of all India. The observation was made with special reference to the variegated natural features of Travancore and to her equally rich and varied flora and fauna. It is, however, no less applicable to her population. It would be difficult, indeed, to find anywhere else in India, in so limited an area, a people so varied and typical of the mixed races of this continent. The two predominant factors of Indian civilization—the Aryan and the Pre-Aryan—will be found here in every degree of fusion. From the aboriginal *Kâṇikâr* or Hillmen to the *Vaidîka Nambûri* Brahmin, what stages of the meeting and mingling of the two races can we not perceive in the endless distinctions of caste so eminently characteristic of this coast? The subtle forces set in motion by the great Aryan race to subdue and absorb into its own polity the earlier races of India may be still seen at full work here in Travancore. Here again may be observed to take place under our very eyes the gradual evolution of all the forms of marriage known to History,—endogamous, exogamous, polyandrous, polygamous, *punaluan*, and what not.(1) Arrested in consequence at different stages of their natural growth, may

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(1) *Vide* L. H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*. *Punaluan* is the *Pâṇḍava* type.

be seen also all conceivable laws of inheritance. Equally diversified and full of philological import is the language of the country. Exactly as the practised ear perceives all possible stages of corruption between pure Tamil and pure Malayalam, as one passes from one end of the land to the other, say from Cape Comorin to Paravûr, so may also the critical student notice all varieties of mongrel mixtures of Sanscrit and Tamil, as he descends from the proud poems of the erudite few to the popular ditties of the illiterate many, from a *Bhâsha Sâkuntalam,* for instance, to a *Tõṟṟampâṭṭu.* (1) Every ~~face,~~ phase too, in the evolution of that all-embracing conglomeration of faiths, ceremonies, and philosophies, called Hindu religion, from the grossest fetichism, worship of trees, of snakes, of evil spirits and what not, to the highest Vedantic school of *Sankarâchârya,*—himself supposed to be a native of the place—finds here its votary to this day, —not to speak of the large representatives of foreign religions, such as the Syrian Christians, who claim to have received their gospel direct from Saint Thomas himself. With regard to manners, customs, dress, and ornaments, infinite is the variety that obtains. Each caste would appear to have been bent upon originating and appropriating to itself a particular form of these natural adjuncts of social organization. Even more tempting than all this pleasing variety is, to the student of Indian Ethnology, the general air of primitive simplicity that nevertheless pervades the entire society, its language and institutions, its manners and traditions. And the air of primitiveness is by no means deceptive. Most of these social peculiarities are in truth but strange survivals of what at different stages was the rule in all India, at any rate in the Peninsular portion of it. Endless particulars from the daily

(1) Means "A song on the Apparition," and narrates the story of *Silappadhikâram,* the ancient Tamil epic. It is being fast supplanted in popular favour by more modern songs and seems to have but a short term of life now before it.

routine of individual and social life may be given to illustrate how strangely things survive in this land, though long extinct elsewhere. But suffice it here to say that Travancore seems to have played, in Indian Anthropology, the part of a happy and undisturbed fossiliferous stratum. And it is easy to understand why it should have been so. No internal revolution seems to have ever convulsed her social system so as to efface the past, to which her own remarkably conservative nature inclined her steadfastly to stick; and as for the violent changes outside her domains, they seem to have never reached her till their fury was spent, so that when, floating down in the fulness of time, their influence came to be felt, the nett or skeleton results alone sank into the structure of her society to be preserved unmolested for ages to follow. Thus taking all in all, Travancore, I earnestly believe, deserves more attention from the students of Indian History than at first sight her apparent geographical and historical isolation would seem to entitle her to; her population being so remarkably varied and typical, and their social fabric a veritable mine of precious antiquities in many a department of Anthropology.

2. But to the best of my knowledge the mine remains unworked—nay even unnoticed—up to date. I do not complain that the history of the people is yet to be written; but I confess I am surprised to find that the political history of this Principality, one of the most ancient though it is in all India, is itself a blank all beyond the immediate present. Even of our ruling royal dynasty, whose origin, Mr. Shungoonny Menon observes,(1) tradition reckons as coeval with creation itself, what information are we in a position to offer to the critical historian beyond a couple of centuries ago, while several even of the minor Barons of Great Britain are able to trace their blue blood over twice that

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(1) *Vide* the opening sentence of Mr. Shungoonny Menon's *History of Travancore.*

period? The Travancore Government Almanac(1) publishes, no doubt, year after year, a list of 35 sovereigns from 1335 A.D., as having immediately preceded His Gracious Highness our present Maha Rajah. But apart from such indefinite and suspicious-looking names as '*Wanaut Moota Rajah*'(2) which cannot but detract from the scientific value of the document, what little I know from independent and indubitable sources of knowledge is not in favour of its accuracy. Mr. Shangoonny Menon begins, indeed, his history with *Brahma* the Creator, but he fills up his first chapter which brings down the account to His Highness Martanda Varma, who began his rule just 164 years ago, *i.e.*, within the memory in all probability of the historian's own grandfather, with such questionable materials as to render it difficult to rebut Mr. Sewell's condemnation of the whole as devoid of historical value.(3) When of the political history of the country, of the history of the unquestionably ancient Royal dynasty itself, we know so little, it is no wonder that we should know less in the more obscure and less attractive branches of Travancore Archæology.

3. But how long are we to remain in this lamentable, if not disgraceful, condition of ignorance? To a native of Travancore—and I am one—it cannot but be galling to have to wait till competent foreign scholars find leisure to investigate and enlighten him on the history of his own fatherland. He would rather, whether fully qualified for it or not, gird up his loins and be doing something, than be simply moaning over the fact till the fortunate advent of a competent *savant*. But even should one be willing to wait, the sources of sure information, the facts and things to be observed, do not seem to be endowed with

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(1) *Vide* page 43, Part II., of the Almanac for 1894.

(2) Means but 'the ruling sovereign of Travancore,' 'Wanaut' being Vêṇâḍ or Travancore, and Moota Rajah or *Mûtta Tampirân* being the popular way of styling the eldest member of the royal family.

(3) *Vide* Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., part treating of Travancore.

equal placid patience. With the rapid spread of education and the general uprising and commingling of the masses, the very things of archæological import are fast vanishing out of sight. No one with wakeful eyes could live a decade now in Travancore without being constantly reminded of the extraordinary rapidity with which the tide of progress is washing away all old landmarks even in this retired creek of the so-called "changeless East." Traditional beliefs, ways, and manners are dissolving like spectres in the air. Every caste seems bent now upon giving up its own, for the sake of the forms and ceremonies, dress and ornaments, and even the modes of speech, of some other which it supposes to be superior to itself. What traits of the primitive Dravidian *Vêṇâd* chiefs would you discover in the anglicized *Nair*, or of the Vedic age of simplicity in the *Nambûri* constable(1)? However desirable such changes might be from other points of view, to the antiquarian they cannot be more gratifying than the rapid, dizzying, gyrations of an animalcule can be to the microscopist. To neglect vaccination and to trust to *Ûrûṭṭu*(2) is certainly not desirable; to indulge in *Paḍaiyaṇi*(3) or mock fights, in these days of peace, might be even more culpable; but when the *Ûrûṭṭu* and *Paḍaiyaṇi* are gone for good, the historian will look in vain for equally good and clear evidences of the past history of the particular localities. The damp atmosphere of Travancore is another source of dread. It is fast demolishing and disintegrating sources of

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(1) The last *Travancore Government Gazette* to hand announces the reduction of a Nambûri Sub-Inspector of Police. Let us hope it is only for his simplicity!

(2) *Ûrûṭṭu* is a village feast generally in honour of the heroine of *Silappadhikâram*, celebrated as a disinfectant of small-pox, exactly as it was resorted to in the days of that old Tamil epic,—*vide* page 31, Swaminatha Iyer's edition.

(3) Means literally 'battle array.' It is a disorderly march past under torchlight, often ending in something worse than sham fights. It is an important item of calculation with *abkari* renters!

information of the highest scientific value possible. A host of historical temples with valuable inscriptions are fast going to ruins. Left to the dissolving influences of nature, or worse still, to the tender mercies of *Marâmut coolies,*(1) the temples of the land, with their many and diverse architectural peculiarities and memorable historical associations and inscriptions, will before long either quietly cease to be, or so utterly change their aspect as to present no meaning to the future inquirer. Our sources of historical information then, both ethnical and epigraphical, seem to be all equally moribund, muttering, as it were with their dying gasp, "Observe now or never!" How important, how helpful, these dying declarations of the past are often found to be, only those who have dealt with them can know, and, if I here venture to catch and interpret some of the still voices of antiquity in our midst, with a view mainly to awaken general interest in our history, I have no other justification to offer, no other apology to make, than that they might ere long cease to be heard at all.

4. I propose to begin our study with the Royal House of Travancore, and I have not the least doubt you will all agree with me in thinking that there can be for us no worthier object of inquiry. I propose again to confine our attention at present to what light we could secure from public stone inscriptions.

5. Of all the materials available to the critical student of Indian History, inscriptions, as far as they go, are, I believe, the very best. It may be possible, indeed, to extract a few scattered grains of historic truth from the old and genuine *Purâṇas,* but only those that have made the trial can be aware of the difficulties and doubts with which the process is beset. Even when the genuineness of a *Purâṇa* is settled beyond doubt, and its age determined,

(1) Day labourers in the *Sirkar* Public Works department. *Marâmut* is an Arabic word used in Travancore to mark off the native agency as contrasted with the one under the European Engineers.

one ought to have an extraordinary fund of faith, or as it is called, 'piety,' to lack a sense of insecurity, as one threads his way through the endless accounts of *Dêvas* and *Asuras*, and discerns here and there a glimmering, and perhaps distorted, view of matters earthly and human. But whatever might be the historical value of the real and old *Ashtâdasa Purâṇas*, to follow the *Stala Mahâtmyas* as faithful guides would imply an unconditional surrender of all canons of historic criticism. They all profess to be integral portions of the old 18 *Purâṇas*, but it is an open secret that their manipulation can scarcely be said to have yet ended. To quote a familiar instance, the late Mr. Minâkshi Sundaram Pillai of Trichinopoly, the last of the Tamil bards, used to supply *Stala Purâṇas* on order; and I know a respectable and scholarly physician in Cottayam is to this day engaged in writing a *Mahâtmyam* in Sanscrit on his own household deity. But whether old or new, it would be a satisfaction to find in these works of skill even remote references to events historical. But true to their function, these religious compositions begin and end with *gods*, and condescend to chronicle only *their* miraculous dealings with friends and foes. Local traditions in some countries may subserve historical purposes, though the logical rule for the rapid deterioration of their testimony has always to be kept in view. But in Southern India, all legendary lore is of the most mischievously misleading character. We cannot travel far, even in Travancore, without constantly coming across hills, valleys, streams, temples, and hamlets, which are fondly believed to be connected with the incidents of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. As observed by Dr. Burnell, most of them are "merely attempts at explanation of the unknown through current ideas, which, in Southern India, amount to the merest elements of Hindu mythology, as gathered from third-rate sources."(1) In

(1) *Vide* Dr. Burnell's *Palæography*, *Introduction*, page 1.

Travancore, even the legitimate names of places, of idols, of castes, of religious dignitaries, and of social ceremonies, which when carefully understood bear clear historical allusions, are strangely twisted and corrupted to suit fanciful derivations under the influence of the same myth-making tendencies. Literature is another of the resources usually open to the student of history, and, in India too, much valuable and reliable information may be gleaned from the ancient literary writings, so long as they had the good sense to be true to nature and man, and to dispense with the crutches of "Divine machinery" so uniformly found at every turn in their later limping career. But unhappily for us in Southern India, we know how soon the Tamil Literature, the only one among the Dravidians that can boast of any antiquity, degenerated and lost its healthy Realism. Copperplate documents, temple and palace records, and what are called *Grantavari* or connected accounts in respectable households of long standing, are less pretentious but often more fruitful sources of information ; but even these are certainly inferior in point of reliability to contemporary stone inscriptions in open and public places. Copperplate grants, being mostly private property of individuals or corporations, have always the chance of turning out forgeries in favour of vested interests. As for the other records, it is always impossible to rebut the charge of corruption or interpolation, since they have frequently to be transcribed—mostly by unqualified hands—in consequence of the ephemeral writing materials to which they are generally committed. Unless, therefore, we have clear internal evidence or other collateral securities, it is seldom safe to lean on crumbling cadjans, however venerable. On the other hand, a contemporary inscription in a place of public resort, if once deciphered, and its age determined, will afford for ever a footing to the historian as sure and firm as the rock on which it is engraved. It would seem then to be the very first duty of those who crave for more light on the past of Travancore to ascertain whether such incontrovertible

epigraphical evidence is available in this ancient principality before proceeding to utilize less trustworthy sources of information. Fortunately for us, inscriptions are not altogether rare in Travancore. I have with me about one hundred and odd of these ancient stone documents, taken from different quarters, mostly from places south of Trivandram, and by confining my attention, for the present, to the light they shed on the history of the Royal House we are now in quest of, I will have also the opportunity of illustrating their general historical value.

6. One word more I feel bound to add in the way of preface. Since most of the documents I have now the pleasure to place before you are in that mysterious archaic alphabet, called *Pâṇḍi-chêra* or *Vaṭṭeḻuttu*, the translation I give of them ought to be considered tentative only. The characters of this curious alphabet, which according to some authorities is the only one original to India, are not yet fully made out. Out of 180 letters which ought to make it up, Dr. Burnell's conjectural plate (No. XVII. in his *Palæography*) is able to supply only 96. Until, therefore, photo-lithographed copies of the facsimiles with me are placed before the scientific public, and my readings and renderings subjected to searching criticism, I have no right to claim your confidence. I may, however, in the meantime, assure you that each of the inscriptions I have here to depend upon has received my best and most anxious attention, and that sufficient time has been allowed to elapse since the collection was completed for patient study and reflexion. I shall further indicate, as we go on, whatever doubts or difficulties still strike me as material to my interpretation. The whole being thus but provisional, I have not made the translations altogether and strictly literal, which would be but rendering them nearly unintelligible in the absence of the originals for reference. They are nevertheless as faithful as I can make them under the circumstances.

THE SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE IN THE 4TH AND 5TH CENTURIES M. E.

Proceeding then to my work, I shall select a period for our study, which is an absolute blank in the history of Travancore, as it now stands. The list of 35 sovereigns given in the Travancore Government Almanac begins, as I have already told you, with 1335 A.D., so that from the 14th century downwards, we have some sort of account to give of the Travancore Royal dynasty, whether absolutely correct or not. In Mr. Shangoonny Menon's History, too, we have some sort of account, however interrupted or loose, only from that date downwards. "In the Kollom year 5 (830 A.D.)," writes this author, "Udaya Marthanda Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal died, but his successor's name and the particulars of his reign are not traceable from the records. The names and other particulars of many of the succeeding kings are also not in the records."(1) The writer then returns to his narrative only with 505 M.E., or 1330 A.D., when, according to the author, the accounts of the pagoda at *Vycome*(2) show that King *Âditya Varma* "assumed authority over the affairs of that Davaswam"(3) or temple. Thus, then, it is clear we have now no information whatever to give for the first five centuries of the Malabar Era.(4) Leaving the earlier periods for further researches, we shall here select for our study the last two centuries of this blank epoch, viz., the fourth and fifth centuries M.E., and shall try to see whether our inscriptions can help us to fill up the gap with authentic facts and dates.

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(1) *Vide* page 89, Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore.*

(2) *Vycome*, or rather *Vaikam*, is a populous village about 24 miles to the south of Cochin. According to Dr. Gundert, the word means 'alluvial deposit,' pointing to the probable geological origin of the place. The local deity is called 'Kôlappan,' obviously a corruption of 'Kôilappan,' showing that 'Kôil' must have been once used to designate the spot, exactly as Chidambaram was in the days of the early *Saiva* saints.

(3) *Vide* page 93, Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore.*

(4) The Report on the Travancore Census of 1891 says, "The 1st Perumal was installed about 344 A.D. For about 12 centuries after this there is no authentic record of any value."—*Vide* page 179, Vol. I.

2. In the very opening year of this period, viz., 301 M.E., or 1125 A.D., we find *Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma* ruling over Travancore. Here is the document—a public stone inscription—in proof thereof. It comes from a deserted village, called *Chôḷapuram,* about a mile to the east of *Oḻugaṇachêri,* the transit station between Tinnevelly and Trivandram. In this deserted village, stands the neglected temple of *Râjêndra Chôlîswaram,* to complete the ruins of which not many recurring monsoons are now needed. Of the historical importance of the temple, this is not the place to speak. I shall reserve that sad tale for a more suitable occasion. Meantime, if any one wishes to verify the document I have now to present, let him look up the western wall of this shrine, where he will find it engraved in old Tamil characters in four long lines. Care, however, should be taken that the examination is not long postponed, lest the temple be gone by the time the expedition is undertaken, and equal care should be taken also, in the course of the examination, not to disturb the serpents inside, lest the examiner be gone before his mission is fulfilled! The document I depend upon runs thus:—

No. 1(1) / 9. OLD TAMIL (2) / SEN TAMIL CURRENT.

Hail Prosperity! In the year opposite(3) the year 301, since the appearance of Kollam, with the Sun in the sign of Leo

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(1) The numeral above indicates the serial number of the inscriptions as made use of in these lectures, while the one below gives the number as in my register.

(2) The description above the line refers to the characters, and the one below to the language of each inscription. For a specimen of *Old Tamil* characters, see Dr. Hultzsch's facsimile of Rajaraja's inscription, No. 1, in *Vol. II., Part I., of South Indian Inscriptions.* The same inscription will be a specimen also of what I call *Sen Tamil Current* with reference to the language of the document.

(3) Endless are the controversies with regard to the interpretations of this expression as found in the *Tirunelli* copperplate grant. For the opinions of Mr. Whish, Sir Walter Elliot, Dr. Burnell, Dr. Caldwell, and Dr. Hultzsch, see pages 288 and 289 of the *Indian Antiquary for August* 1891. Here, however, the word *opposite* evidently means '*equivalent to.*'

(*i.e.*, in the Malabar month Chingam), we, the loyal chieftains(1) of Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma, flourishing in Vêṇâḍu, (viz.) Danañjaiyan Kaṇḍan of Varukkappaḷḷi, Sri Tongappalla (?) Sri Saiyan *alias* Sri Sakkarâyudhan of Maṇṇûr, Kaṇṇan Gôvindan, the brief writer,(2) (private secretary ?) and Kêraḷa Simha Pallavaraiyan *alias* Vikraman Kunṟan of Uḷḷiruppu hill, in the discharge of our official agency, do make over the tax in paddy and money, due from Vaḍasêri, to this side of Mummuḍi Chôḷa Nallûr, as a gift to the god, to be utilized for supplying every day four *nâḻies* of rice, vegetables, ghee, curds, arecanuts and betel, and also one *nanda* (or perpetual) lamp, to the Mahâ Dêva of the temple of Râjêndra Chôḷîswaram, in Mummuḍi Chôḷa Nallûr *alias* Kôṭṭâr, and in order that the arrangement might last as long as the sun and the moon endure, we make the gift, solemnly pouring water on the altar, and cause also the grant to be engraved on stone.

3. And there to this day stands the document engraved on stone, whatever has become of the pious dedication it was meant to perpetuate. It perpetuates to us, at any rate, the happy memory of His Highness Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma, who was reigning in Travancore, in the first month of the first year of the fourth century of the Malabar Era, or roughly speaking about the latter half of August 1125(3) ? The document proves also that Travancore, or *Vêṇâḍ* (4) as it was then called, was under him a well-organized principality with loyal feudal chieftains to transact public business in her name, and levying taxes, as she does to this day, both in kind and in cash. The Government dues even in these backward days, with heavy

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(1) The expression is அமைஞ்ச அதிகாரர்—They were feudal chiefs and not 'paid agents,' as far as I can ascertain.

(2) The original reads "எழுத்துச்சிறுவரிபண்."

(3) The equation for the conversion of the Malabar or Kollam Era to the Christian is $+824\frac{3}{4}$. I use the Malabar year throughout, as it is the one still current in the country.

(4) *Vêṇâḍu* is one of the twelve districts of low or vulgar Tamil according to Tamil Grammarians. *Kêrala Utpatti*' makes it one of the divisions of Kerala. It is derived from *Vêl*=love or desire, either directly or through *Vêṇ*. *Venad* would mean, therefore, the land of love or the lovely land.

military charges, could not have been anything but moderate and fair, as the whole revenue of the tract of country, set apart for the purposes of the grant here recorded, was considered adequate to furnish daily but 4 *nâḷies* of rice and sundries to the Mahâ Dêva of the Rajendra Choliswaram temple. This temple, as the name indicates, was founded in honour of the famous Eastern Chalukya-Chola Emperor, Râjêndra Chola, who, according to the latest researches, ruled from 1063—1112 A.D. over almost the whole of the Madras Presidency, from *Kalingam* in Orissa to *Viliñam* in our own coast.(1) The circumstances under which Sri Vira Kerala of Venad was prompted to dedicate so piously a portion of his revenue to a temple founded by a foreign monarch are, of course, now difficult to determine; but if I am at liberty to venture a hypothesis, I suspect the grant was meant, in all probability, as a political peace-offering to the representatives of the Chola Power in the land.(2) It being but twenty-three years after the death of Rajendra, Venad must have been, about this time, just recovering from the terrible shock it had received from the victorious arms of that great conqueror, whose forces, after subduing the 5 Pandyas,(3) overran all *Nânjinâd,* and advanced as far to the west, as the ancient seaport of Viliñam,(4) about 10 miles to the south of Trivandram. Rajendra's was no passing whim of conquest. His vigilance extended over every part of his territories, and he did all he could to consolidate them into one enduring empire. He transformed *Kôṭṭâr,* the chief city of South Travancore, into *Mummuḍi Chôḷanallur*—(5)

(1) *Vide* page 276, *Vol. XX., of the Indian Antiquary.*

(2) I say *Chola* Power, as it looks probable that Rajendra's dominions in the South fell to the lot of the Cholas rather than to the Eastern Chalukyas.

(3) "விட்டதண்டினில்மீனவரைவரும்கெட்டகேட்டினைக்கேட்டிலைபோலுமநீ." *Kalingattu Parani.*

(4) வேலைகொண்டுவிழிஞமழித்ததும்சாலைகொண்டதும்தண்டுகொண்டல்லவோ. *Kalingattu Paraṇi.*

(5) Rajendra is called "Mummudi Chola" in an inscription dated the 14th year of his reign—*vide* Dr. Hultzsch's report for 1892. But as some of his predecessors were also known by this name, we cannot be sure of the fact.

"the good town of the thrice-crowned Chola," and left there, not merely the temple of Mahâ Dêva noticed in the document before us, but, what is more, a powerful "standing army"(1) to watch over his interests in this distant corner of his dominions. The *Oḍḍars*(2) and *Chaluppars*,(3) so common all over the southern districts and in Trivandram, mark to this day the extent of the old *Châlukyan* sway in the land. I am afraid, therefore, Sri Vira Kerala was making but a virtue of necessity, when he thus yielded up the tax on the tract of land between Kôṭṭâr and Vaḍasêri for the support of the "great god" of Rajendra. It nevertheless proves, for one thing, that the Venad principality was gradually emerging, with the opening years of the fourth century M.E., from the effects of the Chalukyan-Chola eclipse. The receipt of a grant is an acknowledgment of the right of the grantor to make the grant. It argues, therefore, both practical shrewdness and statesmanlike sagacity, on the part of Vira Kerala, that he should have thus fully recognized the situation and made the best of it.

4. That this policy of conciliation with an enemy, too powerful at once to overcome, was only a preliminary for the recovery of lost territories, as opportunities occurred, is proved by the document I have next to present, dated just eighteen years afterwards. This inscription comes from *Tiruvallam*,(4) a petty village near the old mouth(5) of the *Karamanai* river, about 4 miles to the south of the Trivan-

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(1) Called நிலைப்படை in an inscription with me dated in the 39th year of his reign.

(2) *Oḍḍar* means the men of Odya or Orissa. Rajendra was himself first anointed king at *Vengi* in 1063.

(3) The word is evidently a corruption of Chalukkar or Chalukyas.

(4) *Vallam* means, according to Dr. Gundert, a place for watering fields. Would not Vallam mean the same in ഇല്ലവും ചെല്ലവും വല്ലവും വഴിക്കം in Siva Purana?

(5) This river seems to have frequently altered its place of discharge even in recent times. The shifting boundary of the two adjoining *taluqs* is a guide as to what the course was, when the administrative divisions were last arranged.

dram fort. Within a rectangular enclosure, on the eastern bank of the river, stand three chief shrines, of which the easternmost, dedicated to Mahâ Dêva, is certainly the oldest. The middle one—the smallest of the three—is now said to be sacred to Brahma, and it is on its western wall that the following grant is inscribed, in rather small and superficial *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* characters, running over ten closely packed lines. Being close to a holy bathing *ghat* still in use, and being in some measure related to the central temple in the capital, all the three shrines are in pretty good condition, though, because of the exposed situation, the inscription itself is fully open to the effacing influences of the sun and rain. The translation of this rather lengthy record would run thus :—

No. $\frac{2}{47}$.

VAṬṬEḺUTTU

OLD MALAYALAM. (1)

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 319, with Jupiter in the sign of Scorpio, and the sun in Capricornus (*i.e.* the Malabar month of Makaram), was done the following deed.(2) Tenganâḍu, belonging to the loyal chieftains of Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Venad, being recovered,(3) the said chieftains make over in writing the tax payable in paddy within the area of Nigamattûr, amounting to **, and the duties called *Chêvatu* and *Aḷagerutu*, as well as the tax on hand looms, in order to provide daily, in all, 7 *nâḷies* of rice, for the use of Brahmin worshippers, (*Namaskâram*) and for evening offerings to the Mahâ Dêva, Tirukkaṇṇappan,(4) and Gaṇapati in the temple of Tiruvallam, and also to provide once a month one candelabrum, (*dîpamâla*) for each of the (first) two deities. Accordingly from this time forwards, Mahâ Dêva shall have two *nâḷies* of

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(1) Old Malayalam differs but little from current Tamil. I should have reckoned it as *Sen Tamil*, but for certain inflexions—for instance வருவிது instead of வருவது; நமஸ்காரத்தின்னு instead of நமஸ்காரத்திற்கு.

(2) "செய்தகாரிடமாவிது" is an expletive to introduce a document.

(3) The word is அயித்தில்.

(4) There is nothing to show that the Tamil saint of this name had ever a temple at this spot. The word refers only to Krishna, now the presiding deity.

rice, Tirukkaṇṇappan two *nâḷies*, Gaṇapati one *nâḷi*, and the worshipping Brahmins two *nâḷies*. Moreover, the eight coins(1) given in addition by the men of Kâṭṭusêri, being also handed over as *Nêli*, to Nârâṇa Tâdar, he shall make a set-off with that money for the amount he has invested in the purchase of Aruviyûr-compound, and he shall further, after making forthwith a flower garden therein, supply the three deities with two garlands each, and take for himself (in return for his labour) the boiled rice offered to the gods. Nârâṇa Tâdar, on his part, while accepting the aforesaid grant of the tax due from Nigamattur, amounting in paddy to * * and the duty called *Aḷagerutu*, as well as the tax on hand looms and the 8 coins given as *Nêli*, agrees to collect the said dues in half-yearly payments, to grant receipts therefor, to meet the charges thereon, and to furnish the *Dîpamâla*, as well as the garlands from the flower garden (now directed to be opened). If Nârâṇa Tâdari [should ever fail] (2), the village association, the Biḍâra Tiruvaḍi,(3) and the temple managers are empowered to carry out this arrangement, as long as the moon and the stars endure, through such agencies as they might be pleased to nominate.

Here then in this document, we have irrebutable evidence of the continuance of Sri Vira Kerala Varma's rule up to Makaram 319 M.E., or roughly speaking up to the end of January 1144. How long his reign lasted, or when it actually commenced, we have as yet no means of determining; but that it did last for 18 years and 5 months *at the least* is established by the two inscriptions before us. The addition in the second document of Tiruvaḍi, or holy feet, to the name of the sovereign, if it means anything at all,(4) may be taken to indicate the expansion of his dominions and the consequent growth of his power, since we first met

(1) அச்சு clearly means a coin, though it is impossible now to determine its value.

(2) The expressions within square brackets are conjecturally supplied, while those within the semi-circular brackets are additions to render the meaning clearer.

(3) Biḍara is a corruption of Bhaṭṭâraka, in which full form, too, the word is often found.

(4) The kings of Venad were always known to Literature, Tamil and Malayalam, as வேணாட்டடிகள்—the holy feet of Venad.

him. The re-establishment of his authority, so far to the north as Trivandram, affords of course clearer evidence of the same. Though I have not yet been able to identify the exact locality of Tenganâḍ, I have no doubt it must have embraced the seacoast from Têngâpatnam on the mouth of the Kuḻitturai river to Tiruvallum, including the famous seaport of Viliñam. The enemy, from whose hands Tenganâd is here recorded to have been recovered, may have been, therefore, the representatives of the very same Chola power which Kerala Varma in the earlier part of his career found it wise to conciliate.

6. As for other inferences from the inscription before us, particularly about the village associations, temple authorities, and the curious personage, Bhaṭṭâraka Tiruvaḍi, I would fain wait till our data accumulate. It is quite the fashion nowadays to suppose that ancient Native Indian Government was despotism, pure and simple. I would wait, therefore, till more facts are brought to our notice about the constitution and powers of the early village associations of Travancore, before I venture to discuss the soundness of this general assumption. When once we remember the diverse secular functions the Hindu temples(1) were designed to discharge, besides being places of divine worship, we would feel we cannot be really too curious about their constitution and management. I would allow again the Budhistic monk, Bhaṭṭâraka, to go through his slow evolution of Bhaṭṭâraka Tiruvaḍi, Badâra Tiruvaḍi, Baḷâra Tiruvaḍi and Pashâra Tiruvaḍi, before I identify him with our modern *Pishâraḍi*, whose puzzling position among the Malabar castes, half monk and half layman, is far from being accounted for by the silly and fanciful modern derivation of *Pishârakaḷ*+Ôḍi, *Pishârakaḷ* being more mysterious than *Pishâradi* itself.(2) On these and similar questions, therefore, I would beg to reserve my

(1) They were fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one.

(2) I am sorry the Travancore Census Report, 1891, adopts this absurd derivation. See pages 743 and 755, Vol. I.

remarks till sufficient data accumulate before us. A word or two about the taxes and duties mentioned in our document would prove more pertinent to our present inquiry; but I am sorry I have failed, even after repeated inspection of the original itself, to make out, not only the shorthand symbols(1) given to signify the quantity of paddy, but also what is intended to be read by the combination of letters which, as far as I can discern, look like '*chêvatu*' and '*aḻagerutu*'—terms which convey no intelligible meaning to me. From the context I take them to stand for certain duties then levied. The tax on looms is clear enough, though there is no means of discovering its amount. It must have been but a trifle, considering the total expenditure charged on all the revenues set apart by this deed. The word *Nẹli* is another obsolete term, which I take to mean 'capital.' Considering the difficulties of the *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* alphabet in general, and the faintness of this inscription in particular, I have reason only to be gratified that it has served to attest at least Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma's rule in 1144 A.D. and the re-establishment of his authority in *Tenganâd.*

7. We have to wait now for seventeen years more before we get a glimpse of another sovereign of Vênâd. On Saturday, the 7th Iḍavam 336 M.E., the throne of Venad was graced by His Highness *Sri Vîra Ravi Varma Tiruvaḍi,* and here is my authority for the statement. It is a document in old Tamil, inscribed in four long lines on the southern wall of an old temple, in another deserted village near Olugunachêri, now called *Puravachêri,* a name as much fallen from its original proud designation of *Puravari Chatur Vêdi Mangalam,* as the village itself from its former pristine glory. For the sake of such of you as may wish to verify my document, I must add that the priest in charge

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(1) This applies to all subsequent inscriptions. The symbols are arbitrary contractions of words and numerals, and difficult, therefore, of conjecture.

of this temple is a heavily-worked inveterate pluralist, and his movements are more incalculable than most mundane phenomena, so that one ought to go prepared to stay at Olugunacheri for a week to catch a glimpse of this one servant of many gods and to be admitted into the courtyard of the pagoda. Yet if you believe the priest, (and it would be profane not to do so) the *pûjâs* are most regularly performed : only, if you go there in the day time, they would be performed in the night, and if you go there in the night, they would be over by day ! Our document would run thus in English :—

No. $\frac{3}{29}$. | Old Tamil / Sen Tamil Current.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite the year 336, after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun six days old in the sign of Taurus (*i.e.* the 7th Iḍavam), Saturday, Makayiram star,(1) was the following deed in *cadjan* passed :—The loyal chieftains of Sri Vîra Iravi Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Vênâd, declare that with the object of providing for the daily offerings to the Âḷvâr in (the temple of) Puravaravu, in Puravari Chatur Vêdi Mangalam, and for a *Nanda* lamp to the same deity, are granted under *Tiruviḍaiyâṭṭam* tenure, to last as long as the moon and the stars endure, the following paddy lands, irrigated by the Chârâr channel of Tâḷakkuḍi, and by the waters of Cheyyânêri tank in Châravayal, viz., Unnantiṭṭai, measuring $\frac{1}{4}+\frac{2}{20}+\frac{1}{320}$ and Puduvûr Mûlai measuring $\frac{3}{20}$, making a total of $\frac{10}{20}+\frac{1}{320}$ lands, the dues on which at the rate of assessment obtaining in the village amounting to *Mâttâl* 7 * *, the servants of this Âḷvâr, shall lease out, levy, and cause to be measured at the door of the *Paṇḍâra*(2) (granary), as per temple measure called *Puravariyân*, and conduct the above said expenses without failure. The four boundaries of the lands thus set apart are ordered to be marked off by demarcation stones bearing the emblem of the holy Discus, and in order that the allowances might continue without let or hindrance, this deed

(1) *Makayiram* is Malayalam for *Mrugasîrsham*, a star about the head of Orion. It means here the lunar mansion on the day.

(2) *Paṇḍâram* or *Bhaṇḍâram* means usually the king's treasury.

itself is commanded to be inscribed in stone and copper, in witness whereof are our signatures: Pullâlan Aiyan (signature): Chingan Rangan (signature): Nârâyaṇan Sankaran (signature): Kôdai Dêvan (signature), and Sign Manual.

8. Here then we have a document attested by the sign manual of His Highness Sri Vira Ravi Varma himself to prove that he was on the throne of Travancore on the 7th Iḍavam 336 M.E., or about the end of May 1161 A.D. It being but 17 years since we saw Sri Vira Kêraḷa Varma recovering possession of Tenganâd, we may rightly presume that Sri Vira Ravi Varma was his immediate successor. Pullâlan Aiyan(1) and others who signed this document were probably the feudal chieftains who conducted the administration of the day. Tâḷakkuḍi being in the very confines of the present eastern boundary of Travancore, we may take this grant as evidencing the extension of Venad sovereignty all over the south. It is noteworthy that the measurement of the lands given is in the style(2) still followed in the Tanjore District. There was, further, about this time, no standard measures and weights anywhere in Southern India, each temple using its own under the name of the local deity. There are two revenue terms in this record, the significance of which I have not succeeded in finding out. These are *Tiruviḍaiyâṭṭam*(3) tenure and *Mâttâl.*

9. On the western wall of the same temple at *Puravari* occurs another inscription in eight long lines relating to this identical grant; but a stone in the middle of the inscribed portion of the wall has been removed and replaced by another in the course of subsequent repairs, rendering our document thereby incomplete and enigmatic. It will

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(1) *Aiyan* is here no title but the name of the person himself.

(2) *Vide* Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 in Vol. II., *Part I. of South Indian Inscriptions*, for samples of this system of land measurement.

(3) The word might be analysed into திரு+விடை+ஆள்+த+அம், and might then mean "the holy rule of the Bull," *i.e.*, the Siva's emblem, and hence perhaps tax free or temple tenure.

be seen, therefore, that it is not altogether to be deplored that temples with historical associations do not receive frequent repairs! In the case before us, it is easy to supply the lost parts with the help of the related document I have just placed before you. With the omissions so made good, the inscription would read thus in English :—

No. $\frac{4}{44}$. OLD TAMIL / SEN TAMIL CURRENT.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year [opposite the year 336, since the appearance of Kollam](1) with the sun * days old in Taurus, Saturday, Makayiram star, the officers in charge of Nânjinâḍu and the villagers of Tâḷakkuḍi, assembling together, did as follows: in accordance with the Royal proclamation issued by the loyal chieftains of [Sri Vira] Iravi Varma Tiruvaḍi [ruling graciously over Venad], to provide *Tiruchênidai* and *Tiru-Nandâ* lamp [for the Âḷvâr in Puravari], in Puravari Chatur Vêdi Mangalam, we the people of Tâḷakkuḍi [have caused demarcation stones bearing the emblem of the holy discus] to be put up at the boundaries of the paddy lands, [named Unnantiṭṭai measuring $\frac{1}{4}+\frac{2}{20}+\frac{1}{320}$ and Puduvûr Mûlai] measuring $\frac{3}{20}$, making in all $\frac{10}{20}+\frac{1}{320}$, and irrigated by the Chârâr channel of Tâḷakkuḍi-Kiḍachêri and by the waters of Cheyyânêri tank in Châravayal, and we [have made them over] to the servants of the Aḷvâr, so as to enable them [to levy from this day forwards the rent due from them according to the rate current in the village], subject to minor charges and deductions, for the purpose of providing, without failure, and as long as the moon and stars endure, for the daily expenses, as well as for a holy *Nanda* lamp, as graciously commanded ; in witness whereof, we the people of Tâḷakkuḍi (hereunto affix) our signatures. Arayan Pasitângi, signature, Kêraḷan Araiyan, signature, * * * Vikraman Arangan, signature, Vêlân Kêraḷan *alias* Nânjinâṭṭu Mûvênta Vêḷân, signature. I * * * of Panayûr wrote this deed, and wrote it at the bidding of the servants of the Âḷvâr, and the people of Tâḷai; [countersigned] * * * Kêraḷa Santôsha Pallavaraiyan, signature, Gôvindan Vikraman, signature, Anantan Sakrapâṇi, signature.

(1) The parts within the square brackets are those supplied.

10. The grant declared in the previous inscription would thus appear to have been actually executed on that very day,—a fact reflecting no small credit on the administration of those ancient times. This document confirms the inference we have already drawn with respect to the extent of the Venad Principality on that day, since the executive officers who complete the transaction are styled 'officers in charge of the affairs of Nânjinâḍ,'—Nanjinad(1) being the collective designation for the two southernmost *taluqs* of Travancore. The Chôḷa power then must have been by this time altogether extinct there; and it is quite possible that the Vaishnava temple at Puravari was thus patronized to spite the foreign Siva temple of Rajendra, not far from it. But it is always bad to attribute motives; and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with recording the fact that on the 7th of Iḍavam 336 M.E., Vira Ravi Varma ruled peacefully over all South Travancore, his affairs in Nânjinâḍ being administered by a triumvirate, Kêraḷa Santôsha Pallavaraiyan,(2) probably in command of the local forces, if we may judge from his title, and Gôvindan Vikraman and Anantan Sakrapâṇi, in charge of the civil administration. His ministers of State at the capital were, as we have already seen, the loyal chieftains, Pullâlan Aiyan, Chingan Rangan, Nârâyaṇan Sankaran, and Kôdai Dêvan. I would request you to note also in passing the part played by Araiyan Pasitângi and others, representing the village of Tâḷakkuḍi. It is remarkable that the people of Tâḷakkuḍi had the right to execute, and in a manner to ratify, the royal grant. The reservation as to minor charges and deductions, appearing in this inscription but absent in the former, would point to certain cesses, levied

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(1) It is indifferently spelt now *Nânjanâd* and *Nânjinâd*, the correct form being *Nânjilnâḍu* meaning '*the land of ploughs.*'

(2) Pallavaraiyan, meaning the king of the Pallavas, is an old military title. It was sometimes conferred also on men of letters as a special mark of royal favour, *e.g.*, on the author of "*Periyapuraṇa.*"

by village associations, on lands falling within their union. More of this in its proper place. There is a word in this inscription which I do not quite understand, viz., *Tiru-chênidai,* though from the context it may be safely taken to signify some kind of daily offerings in Vaishnava temples.

11. On the southern wall of this temple, and not far from the inscription No. $\frac{3}{29}$ containing the royal grant of Unnan Tittai and other lands, is found a small document, in four short lines, recording another royal grant on the 8th of Chingam 342 M.E. It purports also to be issued under Sign Manual, though it does not mention the name of the sovereign, which, however, we would be justified in assuming to be the same as in the two preceding records, until contradicted by other evidence. It may be thus rendered into English :—

No. $\frac{5}{43}$. Old Tamil / Sen Tamil Current.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year 342, after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun 7 days old in Leo, (*i.e.* the 8th of Chingam), was passed the following deed in *cadjan* :—The land granted under command to feed two wayworn Brahmin passengers, measure $\frac{12}{20}$ in * * * Nîlakandan Parru, and is irrigated by the river Kôttâru and the Kaicherai channel: Nârâyanan Kunran Pêralan, signature, Kâli Kunra Pêralan,(1) signature, and Sign Manual.

12. The brevity of this document would lead us to suppose that it was a sort of note, issued under royal signature, and transmitted by two of the private secretaries in the palace, to the ministers of State, with a view to have the usual more formal proclamation prepared and submitted. Anyhow, it may be taken to prove that Sri Vira Ravi Varma continued to rule Venad till at least the 8th day of Chingam 342 M.E., or about the end of August 1166.

13. Vira Ravi Varma, however, could not have enjoyed the throne of Venad much longer after that date, for we

(1) This word is rather indistinct. From the way in which it is repeated it would appear to have been a kind of title.

have evidence to show that on the 10th Mînam 348 M.E., it was occupied by another sovereign, *Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtânḍa Varma.* This evidence is obtained from an inscription in *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* at *Tiruvaṭṭar*, as it is now called, about 5 miles to the east of *Kuḻitturai*, which is itself half way between Trivandram and Olugunachêri. In the inscription before us the place is named *Tiru Vâṭṭaṟu*, and the old Vaishṇava Tamil hymns, *Tiruvây moḻi*, agree with our record in that spelling.(1) But the Sanscrit *Stala Purâṇa*, in manuscript, with which this place is honoured, prefers obviously to follow its modern corrupt designation, and calls it *Chakra Tîrta*, by way of translation. There could of course be not the least objection to the holy *Stala Purâṇa* using the modern name, but then it must surrender its insolent pretensions to antiquity. The work claims to be an integral portion of *Padma Purâṇa* and purports to report *verbatim*, in a series of ungrammatical *slôkas*, a discourse of Siva, at Mount Kailas, extolling to his spouse, the unequalled sanctity of *Tiruvaṭṭâr*, based mainly on the ground of certain dubious tactics, practised by the local deity on two supra-mundane monsters.(2) On things earthly, and still more on local matters of any historical import, the legend preserves absolute silence. Its writer, however, must have been evidently struck by the similarity of the temples and idols at Tiruvattar and Trivandram, as well as the identity of the dates of their principal feasts, since now and again he makes Siva compliment the former by calling it *Âdhyanandapura* or original Trivandram. It is on the southern wall of the main sanctuary at Tiruvattar that the document I am now to translate is found.

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(1) "வாட்டாற்றானடிவணங்கி மாஞாலப்பிறப்பறுப்பான்" Similarly in all the 11 stanzas of the 9th *Pattu* in the *Pattâmpattu of Saḍha Gôpâḻvâr.*

(2) These monsters are called Kêsan and Kêsi. Kêsan is killed and Kêsi, his sister, comes in the form of a stream to avenge the slaughter. The whole looks like an old Dravidian river myth, modified and adapted to suit the character of the local deity.

No. $\frac{6}{10}$. VATTELUTTU / OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 348, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun * * days old in Pisces (*i.e.* in the Malabar month Mînam), Thursday, Anusham star, Sri Vîra Udaiya Mârtâṭṭa(1) Varma Tiruvaḍi graciously reigning at Kôḷiḍaik-kûṟu in Venad, brought to Kîḷachchêri Palace, in Kôdai Nallûr, in the form of *Nêli*, 3 *slâkas* and 30 *aḷagachchu*, due on [or to be advanced on the security of] the lands belonging to Âdichchan Udaiyannan and brothers, viz., Cheriyakarai Kûṭṭya Paṟai measuring * * * Mâttaṟai measuring * *, making in both * * *, in order that the fixed and regular allowances of *Paḷḷikoṇḍa*(2) *Perumâḷ* at Tiruvâṭṭaṟu, amounting to rice * * * [might be continued without failure]; the income per harvest being * * *.

14. This is one of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions with me of which I cannot satisfy myself that I have found the full import. The only finite verb I can find in it is—"*Koṇḍu-vannu*," meaning "brought," occurring nearly at the very end of the document; but with the omissions and difficulties in the previous parts of the sentence, I cannot be sure that its nominative is Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma. The obsolete word "*Nêli*," which we have already met in Inscription No. 2, may be taken here also to mean capital, or a sum of money. Both from the context and from the numerals following the terms, *Slâkai* and *Aḷagachchu* must refer to the currency then in use. *Slâka* usually means a metallic rod of silver or gold. According to Tamil *Nikaṇḍu*, it might mean also a superior kind of gem. All the three ideas, however, are closely related to one another and to money. It is quite possible that bars of silver or gold passed in those days, as currency, with or without Government stamp. "*Achchu*" of course, as in number 2, cannot

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(1) Mârtâṭṭa is an obvious error for Mârtâṇḍa.

(2) The Perumal in a reclining posture as in Trivandram Srirangam and Seringapatam.

but mean coin, the addition of *Aḻagu* (fair) being but expletive as in '*Aḻagia Aṭṭippêrôlai*' meaning the *fair* title-deed. But I see no means of determining the value of *Slâka* and *Achchu* either in themselves or in relation to one another. All that we can safely conjecture is that a considerable sum of money was taken to Kîḻachchêri Palace. Why it was taken to that place, when it was evidently meant to be utilized for the temple at Tiruvattar, is an embarrassing question, to which I can find no answer. It is equally difficult to understand how so large an amount came to be due from the lands owned by *Âdichchan Udaiyannan* and brothers. Since the last indistinct words of the document seem to indicate the quantity of paddy due every harvest, it is quite possible that the amount, instead of being taken from them, was only advanced to Udaiyannan and brothers on the security of their lands, and on the understanding that a stated quantity of paddy would be delivered every harvest in return therefor. Hence the alternative construction given in the translation above. On the whole, therefore, the document before us must be put down as one yet demanding attention and study.

15. Nevertheless, for our main purpose in this connexion, it is as good a record as any we have yet had, for it affords indubitable evidence of the reign of Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma in Mînam 348 M.E., or approximately speaking in March 1173. It being but six years since we met Ravi Varma instituting the second grant at Puravari, there can be no legitimate doubt of Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma being his immediate successor. The document gives us further the valuable information that Kôḻiḍaikkûṟu was the capital of Venad—at any rate, on the date of this record. As far as I can make out, this capital of Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa is identical with the now insignificant village of Kuḻikôd, near Padmanâbhapuram, Kôdai Nallûr being a well-known place thereabouts. If my identification is correct, the way in which the old name has been corrupted by usage might throw light upon the

original name of our modern Calicut or *Kôlikôd.* It would appear more reasonable to derive *Kôlikôd* from *Kôlidai Kûru,*—"*the suitable middle part*" of Malabar,—than to trace it to the clever fiction that the territory was handed over to the *Zamorin,* to be measured out by the distance to which the *crowing of the cock could be heard.*(1) However that be, if *Kôlidai Kûru* was ever "the suitable centre" of Venad, as the name indicates, we have some means of determining the original extent of that ancient Principality. Taking this village or Padmanâbhapuram as the centre and Cape Comorin as a point in the circumference, Venad, as it originally stood, could not have embraced any territory further north of Trivandram. But the etymology of geographical names is not always a reliable guide to history.

16. But, whatever might have been the original extent of Venad, in the 4th Malabar century, it did include Trivandram, its present capital. For in 365 M.E. we find *Âditya Râma Varma* making a present of a drum to the temple of Krishna in this town. The gift is recorded in a Sanskrit slôka inscribed in old Malayalam characters on the northern wall of the inner shrine of the *Gôsâla Krishna* temple. With the exception of those at Mitrânandapuram this shrine appears to me to be the oldest in the Trivandram Fort. In itself, it is a comparatively small building, standing in the middle of a rectangular outer temple called Gôsâla or cowshed, and the whole is situated in rather inconvenient contact with the north-western corner of the square formed by the corridors of the grand Sri Bali Mandapam of Sri Pudmanâbha, the presiding deity of the place. Tradition, for the nonce realistic, points to a worn out granite tub, still remaining close to the wall bearing our inscription, as a memento of the good old days

(1) This fanciful derivation illustrates how traditions are invented in Southern India. It is but typical of what uniformly takes place with respect to most names of castes, villages, and customs.

when the poor folks of the village resorted to it to whet their knives and hatchets before proceeding to the jungles around to fell and fetch fuel. The explanation suits very well, indeed, the appearance of the time-honoured tub, and also what may be otherwise inferred as to the past of the locality. It would be but easy and pleasant exercise for historical imagination to picture, with the abundant evidences yet available, the real and original 'cowshed' and the patches of paddy lands and plantain *tôpes* by which it was then on all sides surrounded. But long before the date of our document, the primeval peace and solitude of the place must have been to a large extent broken. The Brahmin landlords of the north must have, centuries prior, planted a colony at Mitranandapuram as an outpost in their advance to the south. The Gôsâla itself was now a shrine worthy of a royal visit, and I feel inclined to think that the visit itself was induced by that Brahmin colony for some political purpose or other yet further north. At any rate, I fancy, it is to some learned member of that body we owe the *slôka* which to us commemorates the reign of Âditya Râma Varma in 365 M.E. The verse may be thus translated :—

No. $\frac{7}{86}$. Archaic Malayalam(1) / Sanskrit Verse.(2)

Hail! Prosperity! In Dhanus (Sagittarius) and when Life was at its height, Âditya Râma, who is the bearer of the State Umbrella of Kôda Mârtâṇḍa, the lord of Gôḷamba, and who is further the soul of the earth, both prosperous and honoured, dedicated, after making due oblations, to the Lotus-eyed of the Temple of the Cowshed, in (the town of) Syânandûra, a good drum made of silver, as huge as Mantara mountain, and as lustrous as all the foam of the oceans gathered together.

17. Such is the literal rendering of the rather cleverly

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(1) Many letters of Archaic Malayalam differ from the characters now in use, though the affinity between the two sets is easy to discover.

(2) The metre of this verse is *Sriddhara Vrittam.*

composed Sanscrit distich before us. But as we know cleverness in Indian versification means to a large extent skill in the use of tantalizing phraseology, with a view to suggest and yet to hide the thoughts to be expressed, it behoves us to look into the lines a little closer.

18. Though the word Dhanus (Bow) is evidently intended to suggest that Âditya Râma was, not only the inheritor of the State Umbrella of Kôda Mârtâṇḍa, but also the carrier of his bow, or perhaps his standard bearing that device of the Chêra sovereigns,(1) yet being in its locative case, it cannot but mean 'the month of Dhanus,' *i.e.*, the month in which the sun is in the sign of Sagittarius. Similarly, the expression when *Life* was at its height has its obvious astronomical interpretation. '*Jîva*' means Jupiter, and astrology assumes that that favourite planet reaches its 'height,' when it is in the sign of Cancer.(2) The use of the word '*Gôḷamba*' again, or as it is now more usually spelt '*Kôḷamba*,' indicates that somewhere close by lies buried the year of the inscription in the *Kôḷamba* or Kollam Era, the discovery of which, however, in old verses like the one before us, is often as hard as a feat of astrological divination itself. A reference to Dr. Burnell's *Palæography*, pages 77 to 80, would show the extent of the resources at the disposal of the Sanscrit

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(1) In old classical times, the Bow was the emblem of the Cheras as the Fish was of the Pandyas and the Tiger of the Cholas.

(2) This is certainly the interpretation according to current astrology, but it scarcely seems to me to be correct. Jupiter was in the sign of Cancer in 348 according to our inscription No. 6, and his period of revolution being roughly taken as 12 years, it is impossible that he should be again in the same sign in 365. It is possible that astrology has changed, or that the expression 'at its height' has no special astrological meaning in this connection. On the other hand, since Inscription No. 8A assigns Jupiter to Virgo in 368, he must have been somewhere about Cancer in 365. But inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 again locate Jupiter in Cancer in 371 and 384, and all the subsequent notices agree with them. All the references to astronomical facts in these early records require verification. I give them in these pages as I find them.

versifier to find convenient sepulchres for the dates he might occasionally condescend to embalm in his measured lines. But in the case before us, there can be no doubt that the symbolism followed is what is called the '*Kaḍabayâdi*' system of giving conventional numerical values to the letters of the alphabet; and the word whose component letters are here to be so valued can be none else than '*Mârtâṇḍa*,'—the word immediately preceding the term '*Kôḷamba*.' No other term in the neighbourhood is capable of expressing a possible past date in that Era. I scruple not, therefore, to conclude that the date of this document is Dhanus 365 M.E., or about the end of December 1189, when, astrologically speaking, Jupiter was in the zenith of his power in that part of the Heavens which is graced by the figure of the crab.

19. But for our present inquiry, it is more to the point to know who was then in power here below in Travancore. "The prosperous and honoured soul of the earth" at that period, we are told, was one Âditya Râma. But with all my appreciation for the poet's feelings of loyalty, and commiseration for the common weakness to exaggerate the glory of the powers that are, I cannot but still complain that he did not somehow manage to put in 'Venad' instead of the whole earth. For as the lines now stand, it is not impossible for a sceptic to question whether Âditya Râma did really belong to that Venad Dynasty, whose history we are here engaged in tracing. I do not, however, for my part, feel that there can be much scope for any legitimate doubt on the point, particularly with the information placed at our disposal by the inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 in the sequel. But the poet seems to make amends for this defect by the mention of an important ancestor of Âditya Râma. Âditya Râma is said to have been "the bearer of the umbrella of Kôda Mârtâṇḍa, the lord of Kôḷamba," which cannot but mean that he inherited from the latter his umbrella, or crown as we would now say, since

one described as the 'honoured soul of the earth' could not have been the personal servant of another individual. Who then was this Kôda Mârtâṇḍa, "the *Îsa* or the God of Kôḷamba"? Kôḷamba is usually taken as the Sanscrit name for the Malabar Era otherwise called the Kollam year. It is sometimes assumed(1) to have been the ancient name of the seemingly modern seaport of Quilon, about 40 miles to the north of Trivandram. Whether the identification of Kôḷamba with Quilon in Travancore be correct or incorrect, it means, in the couplet before us, only the Era, and not any particular place, unless, of course, a play upon the word is intended. I am inclined, therefore, to interpret 'God of Kôḷamba' to mean but one who instituted or took part in the institution of the Era of Kôḷamba, or the Kollam year, in which case there would be also an obvious justification for the mention of this ancestor in particular, famous as he must have been in those early days. The traditional account of the origin of the Kollam Era, as given in Mr. Shangoonny Menon's History, lends all support to this interpretation, which, in simple fairness, I must say, struck me as the one most natural *altogether independent of that account.* "In the Kali year 3926 (825 A.D.) when Udaiya Martanda Varma was residing in Kollam(2) (Quilon), he convened a council of all the learned men of Kerala with the object of introducing a new era, and after making some astronomical researches and calculating the solar movements throughout the 12 signs of the Zodiac and counting scientifically the number of days

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(1) For instance, *vide* page 163, Part III., Travancore Government Almanac for 1894.

(2) According to this tradition then, the Era has nothing to do with the foundation or 'refoundation' of the town of Quilon, as stated in the Travancore Government Almanac, page 162, Part III. Our inscriptions, however, allude to the '*appearance*' of Kollam, which I take to mean the 'institution' of the era, and not the foundation of any town. No town of any magnitude is known to have been founded in Malabar to give rise to an Era.

occupied in this revolution in every month, it was resolved to adopt the new era from the first of Chingam of that year, the 15th August 825, as Kollam year one, and to call it the solar year."(1) Whatever might be thought of this explanation of the origin of the era, there can be no doubt that tradition reckons one *Udaiya Mârtânda Varma* as having taken part in its institution. The change from *Kôdai Mârtânda* of our inscription to *Udaiya Mârtânda* of the tradition is easy and natural, the latter being a more frequent, as well as a more significant, adjunct of Mârtânda, in the more favoured Sanscrit language than the Malayalam word 'Kôda.' In justice to Mr. Shangoonny Menon, I must note also that I find in his pages a mention of Âditya Varma as the Sovereign of Travancore about the date of our record. "In like manner," writes this author, "the present Poonjat Rajah, who was a close relation of the Pandyan dynasty, emigrated to Travancore, and the hill territories of Poonjar were assigned as the residence of his family during the reign of king Aditya Varma of Travancore in 364 M.E. (1189 A.D.)."(2) We have only to expand *Âditya Varma* into *Âditya Râma Varma* to make the name accord with our inscriptions. It would be extremely interesting indeed to prove, with the help of Mr. Shangoonny Menon's records, *could we but get hold of them*, that Âditya Râma Varma, just a year previous to the date of his dedication of the drum to the temple of Gôsâla at Trivandram, was in a position to assign away to a fugitive foreign Royal family a territory so far in the north as Poonjar.(3) However that be, we have, I believe, sufficent evidence to maintain, in the meantime, that Âditya Râma Varma ruled over Venad in the Malabar

(1) *Vide* page 88, Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore.*

(2) Page 92, Shangoony Menon's *History of Travancore.*

(3) Poonjar, or Pûññâru, is on the borders of the Madura District further to the north of Peermade. There is every likelihood of the old chieftain of this place having had some relation or other with Madura. His family deity to this day is '*Mînâkshi of Madura*.'

month of Dhanus 365 M.E., and that his ancestor, Kôda Mârtâṇḍa Varma, was the ruler of the same Kingdom, in the Kollam year one, *i.e.*, about August 824.

20. Permit me now to submit to you two small fragments, unworthy of your attention, but for the important quarter from which they come. Next to Trivandram itself, the place now most closely associated with the ruling Royal family is Âṟṟingal, about 22 miles to the north of Trivandram, and situated on the northern bank of the Vâmanapuram river, about four miles from its mouth in the Anjengo backwaters. The female members of the Royal House are now known as the *Râṇîs of Âṟṟingal,* and the village and the country thereabouts are still regarded as their private property. Each Travancore Sovereign has now to visit the place soon after his coronation to complete the ceremonies in connection therewith, and he is expected further to renew that visit every year of his reign. It is difficult to believe that such attentions and honours are allowed to the spot, simply because of an accident of a palace having been constructed there, to accommodate two adopted *Râṇîs,* as stated by Mr. Shangoonny Menon. "During the 5th century M.E., and in the reign of King Aditya Varma, the Travancore Royal family was under the necessity of adopting two females from the Kolathnad Royal family, and a royal residence was constructed at Attingal, for the residence of the two Ranîs, and they were installed as Attingal Mootha Thampuran and Elia Thumpuran, *i.e.*, Senior and Junior Ranîs of Attingal. The country around Attingal was assigned to them, and the revenue derived therefrom was placed at their disposal."(1) Until we know for certain the nature of the authority on which this statement is based, we may scruple to accept the account, as a sufficient explanation of the anomalous relation of Âṟṟingal to the Royal Household. Even

(1) Page 93, Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore.*

assuming that a particular King of Venad in the 5th century went so far out of his way as to look to Kôlatnâḍ for heirs to his own dominions, it is still, I am afraid, not very likely that the fair members, so introduced into his own family, would be located, in those troublesome days, altogether away from South Travancore, the acknowledged seat of his own power. Antecedent probability is in favour of Âṛṛingal having been at one time an independent principality, the first of those merged later on into Venad. The early aggressive vigour of the kingdom of Venad, meeting with insuperable difficulties in the more exposed and troublesome eastern border, over which it had once extended itself, as proved by the inscriptions said to exist in Chêra Mahâ Dêvi and other villages of South Tinnevelly,(1) must have next turned itself to the north, where evidently it found freer scope for exercise. The first State then to be absorbed would naturally be Âṛṛingal, supposing it was then independent. And to account for the facts, we have next only to assume that for conciliating the newly added province, an alliance through marriage or adoption was effected with the House of Âṛṛingal, the name *Râṇis of Âṛṛingal* being continued, with the same object and in the same manner, as in the familiar case of the "*Prince of Wales.*" A strong presumption is raised in favour of such a hypothesis by the fact of *Kîḻpperûr* being found annexed as the house name of the Venad Princes in later inscriptions. *Kîḻpperûr* is an old and ruined village, unapproachable by cart or boat, about 8 miles to the north-east of Âṛṛingal. The country about Âṛṛingal seems to have been known in early times as *Kûpadêsam*,(2)—a province altogether dis-

(1) Plenty of valuable inscriptions are found in several old villages of this district, which, as far as I know, have not yet seen the light of day, both literally and metaphorically! *Chêra Mahâ Dêvi* is now spelt Shermadevi.

(2) Dr. Gundert thinks that *Kûpa Râjyam* was probably identical with *Kumbalam*, but notes at the same time that 'other manuscripts exchange it for *Mûshikam*, the most southern quarter.' *Kumbalam*, as far as I am aware, is between Cochin and Alleppy. Âṛṛingal would be the most southern quarter excepting Venad.

tinct from Venad. An inscription of Râjarâja Chôla dated in the 30th year of his reign claims for him a decisive victory over the *King of the Kûpakâs.* The Tamil Poem, *Kalingattu Paraṇi,* of the days of Kulôttunga Chola, enumerates the *Kûpakâs* among the subject races that paid tribute to that Emperor.(1) The identification of Âṟṟingal with *Kûpadêsam* is rendered almost certain by an inscription in the *Âpanêswara* temple, about 2 miles from Âṟṟingal, dated as late as 751 of the Malabar Era, which speaks of the princess who repaired that shrine as the *Queen of the Kûpakâs.* If *Kûpa Râjyam* and Venad were thus at one time two co-ordinate provinces of Malabar, and if, in later times, we find the Princes of the latter appropriating to themselves, as their *House name,* the name of a locality situated in the former, it cannot be a violent assumption to suppose that the two were originally independent principalities, and that their amalgamation took place under such circumstances as led to a compromise, the weaker party submitting to the stronger on the condition of the stronger appropriating, not only the kingdom, but also the family name of the weaker. In short, it looks not in the least unlikely that when the power of Venad prevailed over Âṟṟingal, some matrimonial or other alliance was concluded which naturally led the blood of Âṟṟingal to prevail, in its turn, in the veins of the Venad Princes.

21. But of course all this is more or less pure speculation, and must remain as such only, until it can find support in inscriptions or other indubitable facts. Unfortunately, though Âṟṟingal has within a small area more than four pretty decent temples, testifying to its once affluent circumstances, there is in none of them any inscription referring to early historical facts. The temple that would appear to be now most closely associated with the palace is the one called '*Puttankâvu*' or 'new grove,' dedicated to *Bhagavati.*

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(1) *Vide* Verse 8, Chapter XI. *Kalingattu Parani.*

It is Bhagavati again that is worshipped in the old local palace, under the name of '*Palliarai Bhagavati*,' or 'The bed chamber Bhagavati.' It is rather difficult to determine whether 'the Bhagavati of the bed chamber' is really a goddess, or only a deified ancestor, say the last of the independent queens of Ârringal. To the west of the palace, and in close contiguity with the principal *Vishnu* temple of the station, stands a small neat shrine, dedicated to *Peru Udaiyâr*,(1) apparently the same deity as is worshipped in Râjarâja Chôla's temple at Tanjore, but sadly unlike that model in having no inscriptions whatever. About two miles to the east of Ârringal, and not far to the west of the populous Brahmin village, called Âvanamchêri,(2) lies a petty hamlet with the historical name of *Vira Kêralam*, now corrupted into *Vîranam*. An old neglected temple in this village owns the earliest inscriptions I can find in this locality. There are two of them in this temple, but both of them are extremely disappointing fragments. The first is inscribed on the north-eastern corner of the shrine itself, while the second is engraved on the altar outside the square enclosure now in ruins. How sadly incomplete they are will be seen from the renderings below :—

No. 8A/83. VATTELUTTU / TAMIL.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 368, with Jupiter in Virgo, and the sun two days' old in Taurus, Kîlp * *

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(1) *Peru Udaiyâr* does not mean, as both people and *pandits* now generally suppose, the 'God of copious clothing,' but the "*great Lord or Master*." Udaiyâr was further the family name of Rajaraja and other Chôlas of his dynasty.

(2) It is curious how false learning interferes with etymology. Fastidious scholars now pronounce this name *Avanavanchêri*, and suppose it to signify 'every one's own village,' and not 'the village with a market' as it may be so naturally and so easily taken to mean.

No. 8B/83. | Vaṭṭeḻuttu / Tamil.

Sri Dêvadâram(1) Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi graciously consecrated [this shrine].

22. It is of course impossible now to say whether the two broken inscriptions form parts of the same record, or even whether they relate to the same subject. But should we venture to connect them together, which of course is by no means safe, though not an unprecedented procedure in Epigraphy, we could have evidence of some sort for the date of another sovereign, presumably of Venad. I say *presumably* only, because it is quite possible that Kêraḷa Varma who founded this temple belonged to an independent principality, say of Âṟṟingal itself. The word *Kîḻppêrûr*, with the first syllable of which the first fragment breaks off, is intended to refer no doubt to *Kîḻpperûr Illam or House*, by which the ruling family is designated in later inscriptions; but since earlier documents in my possession do not mention any such house name, it is by itself no guarantee that the reference is to the Venad dynasty, at least before its fusion with the Âṟṟingal or some other more northern royal House as observed above. Only after these possible sources of error are duly provided for, can we conclude, even supposing the two fragments to relate to the same subject matter, that there reigned over Venad one Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi about the beginning of Iḍavam 368 M.E., or about the latter half of May 1193. Still as the balance of evidence is in favour of such a presumption, we will provisionally call him Vîra Kêraḷa Varma II.,—the prefix Vîra, which occurs invariably in all the known old names of the dynasty, being preserved to us in the name of the village where the record is found. We shall, of course, await the result of further researches to convert the presumption into a fact.

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(1) The word is not *Dêvadâm*, but clearly *Dêvadâram*, though I cannot make out what it means.

23. But no such scruple need be entertained to pronounce that on the 25th of Mêḍam 371, the ancient throne of Venad was occupied by His Highness *Sri Vîra Râma Varma Tiruvaḍi.* My authority for the statement is a long *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* record in 9 lines, inscribed on the southern wall of a small temple, in a village now called Kuṇamgarai, to the south-east of the Veḷḷâṇi fresh water lake, about 8 miles to the south of Trivandram. It would read thus if translated :—

No. $\frac{9}{60}$.

VAṬṬEḺUTTU
OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 371, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun 24 days old in Aries, is made the following grant:—The loyal chieftains of Sri Vîra Râma Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Venad, make over in writing, as a solemn gift ratified with water, the (locality of) *Sêrikkal*, in Chemkôṭṭâṟu, belonging to the said chieftains, to Vâna Mâdhava Nârâyaṇa Viṇṇagar Aḻvân of Tirukkunagarai, to provide for all his daily expenses, and one holy *Nanda* lamp. From this time forwards, the manager of the temple of Tirukkunagarai shall, under the supervision of *the Six Hundred* of Venad and of the district officers and agents, take sole possession of all things whatsoever in this *Sêrikkal*, with the exception of the paddy land, granted already under command by the said chieftains to meet the expenses of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* of Nêḻiyûr, and the manager shall duly supply according to the regulated measurement, four *nâḻies* of rice of proper quality for holy offerings, and also one holy *Nanda* lamp. The paddy per year required to provide the daily offerings of four *nâḻies* of rice, exclusive of pounding charges, amounting to 10 *Kâl* (?) and 24 *Kalams*, and the ghee and thread, required every day for the holy *Nanda* lamp, should be supplied without failure. The expenses shall be met out of the proceeds of the '*ûrâḻ*' lands on both the sides, the lower and the higher, of Chenkôṭṭâṟu, and also the higher fields and Koḍumkarai compound, both falling under the *Kârâṇmai* tenure, as well as from the (labour of the) predial slaves thereunto attached, all of which shall be now forthwith taken possession of (by the said

manager). If the supply fails once, double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice, *the Six Hundred*, the officers, and the *Valamjiars* of the 18 districts shall institute inquiries, and see to carry out this arrangement without failure, as long as the moon and the stars endure. Pillars(1) having been raised so as to mark and include the four limits thereof, this *sêri* (or portion of a village) is granted, under the *Tiruvidaiyâṭṭam* tenure, according to Royal command; all of which facts (the following) do know (and can attest), viz., Kaṇḍan Kaṇḍan of Tâkka Kokka Compound, Kêraḷan Îswaran of Tânamaṇkoṭṭam, Âdi Tiruvikraman Parnan, and Gôvindan Kumâran of Paṭṭâḷi. This is in my hand, Kaṇḍan Udaiyanan of Kaitavây (signature.) (2)

24. Thus then, beyond all doubt, there reigned over Venad on the 25th Mêḍam 371 M.E. or about the beginning of May 1196, His Highness Sri Vîra Râma Varma Tiruvaḍi. It is but one month and 23 years since we came across Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma at Tiruvaṭṭar, in our inscription No. 6—the last firm ground we had. The interval cannot surely be considered too large for one reign, supposing we are constrained by further researches to reject, as foreign to the Dynasty, both Âditya Râma Varma of the Gôsâla inscription, and Kêraḷa Varma II. of the Âṛṛingal fragments. But the latter contingency, at any rate, as far as Âditya Râma is concerned, is so far improbable, that it may be well set aside, except in the way of satisfying the conscience of the ultra-sceptical. If we admit then either of these two names, we abridge the interval respectively to six or three years :—periods too short to disturb in the least our belief in the uninterrupted succession of the sovereigns our records have served us to bring to light.

25. Before quitting the inscription in hand, I would

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(1) தோரணம் is the word used, which means according to Dr. Gundert, 'Post with an inscription or device.'

(2) The rest of the persons here named do not sign the deed, each says only 'he knows.'

just call your attention to two or three striking features in the social economy of the times. Besides the village associations we have already noticed, Venad, it would appear, had for the whole State an important public body under the name of "The Six Hundred," to supervise, for one thing, the working of temples and charities connected therewith. What other powers and privileges this remarkable corporation of "The Six Hundred" was in possession of, future investigation can alone determine. But a number so large, nearly as large as the British House of Commons, could not have been meant, in so small a state as Venad was in the 12th century, for the single function of temple supervision. There is an allusion again in this record to the *Vaḷanjiars* of the 18 districts. The 18 districts were, no doubt, the 18 administrative divisions of Venad. Some of the names of these districts we might come across in the sequel. But who the *Vaḷanjiars* of the districts were is a more puzzling question. As far as I can make out, the word reads only as *Vaḷanjiar,* but neither in Tamil nor in Malayalam am I aware of any current term of that description. It is an obvious derivative from the Tamil word '*Vaḷam,*' and the leading meaning of that term is 'greatness, dignity or honour.' If I am right in my reading, we may reasonably presume that the eighteen *Vaḷanjiars* were the 18 local magnates, or feudal Barons of the Realm. They were, as far as I can see, not men in the Royal service, who are always described as those who carry out *Paṇi* meaning 'work,' or *Kâryam* meaning 'business.' Both these latter descriptions occur in the document before us. But whatever was the difference in rank, emolument, and position, between those who carried out the '*work*' of the State, and those who attended to its '*business*,' the *Vaḷanjiars* of the land would appear to have been above them both. It looks probable that the "loyal chieftains," whom we have now met so frequently transacting business in the name of the king and forming as it were his Government or cabinet ministry, came from

this class of *Vaḷanjiars* or feudal Barons. That there were slaves attached to the land, and that there were two important kinds of land tenure, *Ûrâḷ or ûrâṇmai*, subject to the village associations, and *Kâraṇmai* or freeholds, directly under the State, are other interesting items of information we may glean from this record, though they may not be equally novel.

26. Allow now thirteen years to elapse, and we meet with another king of Venad, *Sri Vîra Râman Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi.* I base this statement on a *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* inscription in Sri Pudmanâbhaswamy's temple, in the capital itself. Unfortunately, however, it is a mutilated one, nearly one half of it being missing. All the greater is the pity of it, since the fine bold *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* characters, in which it is inscribed, would have otherwise made the copy of it, both palæographically and historically, one of the very best samples in my collection. The locality in which the mutilated document is now found can scarcely have been its original abode. The unhappy slab, so sadly in need of its engraved partner, cannot be said to be itself fairly above ground! Any one wishing to pay a visit of condolence to this mournful survivor must be prepared to assume a befitting humble attitude! Passing by the flag-staff and going in at the main eastern gate of the temple, let him walk straight on till he crosses the gateway of the second enclosure. There if he stands in as lowly an attitude of worship as he could possibly assume, he will descry, in the nethermost row of stones forming the low passage wall to his left, the gloomy object he is in quest of, neat and remarkably well dressed for the situation! But should he be curious to note the rather deep and clear furrows on its fallen face, his devotion ought to go deeper; he ought to lie flat on the ground leaning somewhat on the right side, not much minding the unctuous floor beneath, or the untoward heels of the *Achchies.*[1] He might only

(1) These are the sweeper women of the temple.

then discover and fully realize the lamentable bereavement he has come to condole on. He would, doubtless, then find out for himself that the unlucky stone before him is but one of a well meaning and well wedded couple that did once stand shoulder to shoulder, through weal and woe, until the wayward Fates, envious of such firm and changeless attachment, sent them the curse of the *Mârâmut cooly*, who, dismembering their home and tearing them asunder, whirled away this particular individual to its present aimless posture, alone and away from its dear companion, and unable in consequence to make its two ends meet! But Science which can reconstruct a Plesiosaurus from a single tooth or a single rib, ought to be superior to the Fates! With the help of other inscriptions in my collection, I have in a measure succeeded in conjecturing what the two stones together would have told us; and with the omissions so supplied, the translation of the document would read thus:—

No. $\frac{10}{61}$. VAṬṬEḺUTTU / OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 384, with Jupiter in Cancer, [and the sun * days old in Gemini](1) in the presence of the Tiruvânandapuram Association and its Sabhañjita, assembled in the southern [Hall] of Mitrânandapuram, [under the solemn] presidency of [the Bhaṭṭâraka],* * tiṅga(2) Pallavarayan, [the loyal chieftain of] Sri Vîra Irâmaṅ [Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi] of holy Venad, [made a free grant of certain lands] belonging to the said * tiṅga Pallavarayan, in Cheyyamaṉ and Kaḷattûr, [to be taken charge of by such and such, under such and such arrangements,] with the object of providing daily four *nâḻies* of rice and condiments [partly] to be used as offering to the *Perumâḻ* of Tiruvânandapuram, and [partly] to feed one Brahmin, besides providing every year on the *Uttiram* star in (the month of) *Panguni*,(3) [a special feast or lustration.]

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(1) The parts within square brackets are those supplied.

(2) Looks like a corruption of Chinga or Simha.

(3) The principal festival of the temple still takes place about this time. Uttiram or Utram is a star about the tail of Leo Major.

[The daily offering to the *Perumâl* shall be made] when a man's shadow in the sun measures 12 ft.(1) [and the rice so offered shall be made over to such and such, who in return therefor] shall supply [each day] one garland to adorn the *Perumâl*. If the supply (of this stated quantity) of paddy fails once, [double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice] in succession, the property shall be confiscated, and the amount of paddy recovered and measured out. [If any dispute arises thereon,] the case shall be taken to *Sri Pâlam* and the question then finally decided. To which effect [witness below our hands,* *] of Kaitaviḷâgam. The first half-yearly [payments will be due] in the month of *Vrichigam* in Kollam 385.

27. Such in substance would be the document, if the portions lost are supplied, as far as it is now practicable to do, with the help of the context and of similar records with me. Happily for us, so far as important historical facts are concerned, there is little or no room for any legitimate doubt. For instance, comparing the inscription before us with the one to be given next, how can one reasonably doubt that the full name of the king who ruled Venad on the date of this document was *Sri Vîra Irâmaṅ Kêraḷa Varma?* The last letter in the part of the name actually found is (ங) ṅ, which can combine with no other letter in the alphabet than a K.; and our next inscription, which is but five years later, completes the name exactly as we should expect. Fortunately for us, again, the last word with which the opening line breaks off is Kollam 384,— the year of our document; and the date is confirmed, if need be, by the closing line, fixing the time for the payment of the first half-yearly dues in Vrichigam 385. This mention of the month with which the first half-year ends enables us further to fix the month of the grant itself as Mithunam preceding. Supposing a full half-year was to expire in Vrichigam for the payment to be due, we have only to shift

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(1) Technically called *Pantîraḍi* or 'the 12th feet offering.'

the date of the grant a month earlier, *i.e.* Idavam 384. Thus, then, we may be perfectly sure that about May or June 1209, Venad was ruled over by Sri Vîra Râman Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi.

28. Certain other inferences, equally unquestionable, may be also made from the record in hand. For instance, it is impossible to doubt that in 384, Trivandram, like so many other villages, had a *sabha* or association, with a *Sabhanjita*, chairman or secretary of its own, and that it used to meet on occasions of importance in the old temple at Mitrânandapuram, about a couple of furlongs to the west of the present shrine of Sri Pudmanabha. The south-western corner of the courtyard of this temple is still pointed out as the sacred spot where *sabhas* used to meet of old, and the word '*Tek*' or south, in our inscription, gives no dubious guide to that spot. The raised floor of this hall still remains, but the roof, which must have resounded with the voice of many a wise council, is now no more. Fragments of apparently very old inscriptions in the Mitrânandapuram temple speak also of memorable meetings of the *sabha* in the same "southern hall." These meetings are recorded to have taken place in the solemn presence of the *Baḍâra* or *Bhaṭṭâraka Tiruvaḍi* of the locality, enabling us thus to infer that the solemn presence, with which the meeting here recorded is said to have been honoured, must have been also of the same mysterious personality. It would appear further from an inscription at Suchîndram, dated 406, that there was at that time a senior *Baḍâra Tiruvaḍi* at Trivandram, in superior charge of the temple management. From this latter document, I am led also to suspect that by "*Sri Pâdam,*" to which according to the record in hand the final appeal was to lie, in case of dispute in the administration of the land in question, is meant also the same religious functionary. The expression is now somehow or other used to designate the palace, where the Queen-mother resides with the junior members of her

family. But the context in the Suchîndram record, above referred to, militates against that modern application of the term.

29. Permit me now to call your attention to the curious way in which the town Trivandram is here spelt. Twice the word occurs in the portion of the inscription preserved to us, and on both occasions it is clearly spelt *Tiruvânanda-puram* with a long â, meaning the holy city of *Blessedness*, and not as it is now universally understood, the city of *Ananta*, the serpent. The deity, too, of the place is named *Perumâḷ*, the Great One, and not *Pudmanâbha*, the Lotus-Navelled. Is it possible that the city of *Blessedness* passed into one of *Ananta*, the serpent, with the transformation of the infinite and indefinite '*Great one*,' into the definite *Pudmanâbha*, whose mattress Ananta is? The analogy of Mitrânandapuram, the oldest temple of this town, lends support to the orthography of our inscription. But on the other hand, the Suchîndram inscription already referred to, spells the town in the usual modern fashion. So also does the hymn in *Tiruvâymoḻi*,(1) dedicated to the local deity, though, in this case, it is not as decisive as with Tiruvâṭṭar, since neither rhyme nor metre will be wholly spoiled by the substitution of one of the names for the other : and as far as I can remember, the town is mentioned nowhere else in Tamil literature. The Sanscrit name 'Syânandûra' only adds to our doubts and difficulties. Underivable proper names are by no means common in any Indian language, and in Sanscrit, there are but very few names of any class whose etymology cannot be traced to well-known roots. But 'Syânandûra,' though used familiarly by Sanscrit scholars both in inscriptions and in standard Malayalam works,(2) is analysable according to no known rules of grammar. It looks in the highest degree incredible that the Aryans of Upper India could ever have been under the necessity of inventing such an arbitrary

(1) *Vide* 2nd *Pattu* in Pattâmpattu.
(2) *Vide*, for example, *Vairâgia Chandrodaiyam*.

and unanalysable name for so petty a village in the Dravidian country. In all probability then, it must be a Sanscritized corruption of a Dravidian name now altogether lost to us. The last syllable in *Syânandûra* sounds like *ûr*, the Tamil term for village or town, but what the preceding two syllables stand for, it is difficult to conjecture. If the word were *Sryânandûra*, we could have taken the body of it as made up of *Sri* or *Tiru* in Tamil, and *Ânanda*, as preserved to us in the inscription before us as well as in the name Mitrânandapuram. But in that case there would have been no necessity for any corruption at all. My impression, therefore, is that the original native denomination of the town must have been a Dravidian word ending in *ûr*. The form '*Syânandûrapura*' occasionally met with tends to show that *ûra* was a part of the original name and no corruption of *Pura*, since '*pura*' is itself added to it. At any rate, the name could not have been either Ânandapuram, as in our inscription, or Anantapuram, as in current use, since both of them are good Sanscrit words needing no corruption to suit the genius of that language.

30. Returning now to our history, we have seen already that in Iḍavam or Mithunam 384, *i.e.*, 1209 A.D., the Government of the country was in the hands of Sri Vîra Irâman Kêraḷa Varma. This same sovereign was in power on Thursday, the 18th Mînam 389 M.E. If any one wishes to assure himself of the fact, it would cost him nothing more than a pleasant trip to *Kaḍinamkuḷam*, just 12 miles north of Trivandram, on the backwater route to Quilon. On the north-western wall of the temple of *Mahâdêva* in this village, he would find a *Vaṭṭeluttu* inscription in four lines to the following effect :—

No. $\frac{11}{20}$. VAṬṬELUTTU / TAMIL.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite the Kollam year 389, with Jupiter in Aquarius, and the sun 18 days old in Pisces, Thursday, Pushya star,(1) the 10th lunar day, Aries (being

(1) Pûyam or Pushyam is a star about the head of Hydra.

the rising sign), and Sri Vîra Irâman Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi of Kîḻpperûr being the gracious ruler of Venad, Sri Vîra Iraman Umaiyammai Viḻḻavar(?) Tiruvaḍi graciously caused the consecration (of the idol inside).

31. This neat inscription, giving full details of date up to the hour, would have been altogether unexceptionable, but for a difficult word which I am not quite sure of between *Umaiyammai* and *Tiruvaḍi*. We need not be particularly sorry for it, if we could be but sure that it was a part of the proper name of the founder of the temple. But as it stands, the proper name would appear to be completed with *Umaiyammai*, and the intractable word after it would seem to describe her status or position, in which case, indeed, it must be of supreme historical importance for us to know exactly what it was. The title *Tiruvaḍi* is found throughout our records reserved to Royalty. It occurs even here just a line above in connection with Sri Vîra Irâman Kêrala Varma. Who then could this additional *Tiruvaḍi* be? The name given, Sri Vîra Irâman Umaiyammai, is a curious compound, Sri Vîra Irâman being a masculine name, the first part in fact of the name of the then ruling king, and Umaiyammai, an appellation as distinctly feminine. In a compound name like this, usage as well as grammar would determine the sex of the person so named by the ultimate particle of the name, and we have, therefore, practically no doubt that the founder of the temple was a female, entitled, however, to Royal rank. The interesting question then is, did she belong to the same Royal House as the then ruling sovereign, and if so, what was the particular relation in which she stood to that ruler. The full importance of the question will be perceived, only when the following facts are borne in mind. In the first place, this is the earliest record I have yet found of any female member of a Royal family, in a country where succession is believed to have been always in the female line. In the second place, it is also the first occasion, barring the Aṟṟingal fragments,

where we have the family designation of *Kîḻppêrûr*. And lastly, it must also be noticed that the temple at *Kaḍinam-kuḷam,* the institution of which this inscription records, is exactly equidistant between Trivandram and Âṟṟingal,—and, therefore, a convenient stage in a journey from the one to the other. Both tradition and local inquiry would prove that the village of Kaḍinamkuḷam itself came into prominence, if not also into existence, only in consequence of its having been a suitable halting place, and that it continued to retain its importance, so long as it was used as such, *i.e.*, before the *Shânânkarai* canal connected the present capital with the backwater system of the north. Is it fanciful or farfetched then to suppose that the temple, of which our inscription records the foundation, was the direct fruit of extended political relations in the North, say, such as would arise from the annexation of Âṟṟingal with Venad and the amalgamation of their respective Royal Houses, assuming, as we have already done, the original independence of *Âṟṟingal* or *Kûpadêsam ?* If the hypothesis then is allowable, we might take both the *Princess Umaiyammai* and the present family name of *Kîḻppêrûr* as coming from Âṟṟingal, and accruing to the Venad sovereign by right of adoption, marriage, or other alliance. It is a pity, therefore, that the word after Umaiyammai, which might have helped to solve some of these difficulties, happens to be so unyielding. As far as I can make out, it looks only like *'Viḻḻavar,'* which carries no meaning to my mind.'(1) Until, therefore, further researches throw more light on the question, we should be content to accept the indistinct word to be a special title of Princess Umaiyammai in the Venad Royal House itself.

(1) It is possible that *Viḻḻavar* is a mistake for *Yilaiyavar*, meaning the *younger*. There are one or two other dated *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* inscriptions in the place but unfortunately as the stones bearing them have been repeatedly white-washed, plastered over and painted upon, only portions of the lines are now open to view. I went to the spot again on the 16th June 1894 to try whether the broken lines could not help us over the difficulty, but returned not wiser than I went.

32. But whoever Princess Umaiyammai was, our document proves beyond all doubt that on the morning of Thursday, about 8 P.M., the 18th Mînam 389 M.E., *i.e.*, 1214 A.D., the throne of Venad was occupied by Sri Vira Irâman Kerala Varma Tiruvaḍi. We know he was on the throne in 384. How long ago he ascended it, and when exactly it passed away to his successor, are points yet to be determined. We meet with another sovereign of Venad only in 410 M.E., and we may, therefore, provisionally take his reign to have extended to the close of the 4th Malabar century.

33. With the opening of the fifth century of the Kollam Era we meet with another king of Venad, by name *Sri Vira Ravi Kêraḷa Varma.* That the 28th Mêḍam 410 M.E. fell within his reign is proved by a *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription at *Maṇalikkarai,* a petty village near Pudmanâbhapuram in South Travancore. The document is found inscribed on all the four sides of a tablet specially put up in front of the Âḷvâr temple in this village. The face of the tablet contains 23 lines, its obverse 32, and the two sides 37 and 17, respectively. Why the document was entered on a special tablet, and not on the walls of the temple as was the custom, it is impossible now to ascertain. Possibly its singular importance demanded this singular treatment. For if my reading of it is correct, it is nothing short of one of the great charters of Travancore. Its substance, as far as I can make out, would run thus in English :—

No. $\frac{12}{91}$. VAṬṬEḶUTTU / OLD MALAYÂLAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the Kollam year 410, with Jupiter in Scorpio, and the Sun 27 days old in Aries (*i.e.*, the 28th Mêḍam), is issued the following Proclamation, after a consultation having been duly held, among the loyal chieftains of Sri Vîra Iravi Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling Venad, the members of the *Sabha* (or Association) of Kôḍainallûr, and the people of that village, as well as Kaṇḍan Tiruvikraman of Marugatachchêri, entrusted with the right of

realizing the Government dues. Agreeably to the understanding arrived at in this consultation, we command and direct that the tax due from Government lands be taken as amounting in paddy to * * * * and 24, in *Arakkal*(1) crop, and 725 * and 24, in *Chāral* crop, and making up per year a total of * * * * *; and the same, due from tax-paying village(2) lands, be taken as amounting in paddy to * * * * and 24, in *Arakkal* crop; and 728 * and 24, in *Chāral* crop, and making up per year, a total of * * $709\frac{2}{10}$; and that when the due quantity is measured out, a receipt be granted, discharging the liability, the fact being duly marked also in the rent roll: and we command moreover that the order of permanent lease (now in force) be surrendered into the hands of the clerks who write or issue such deeds* * * * (3). From the *Tuvâmi* (or Swâmi), too, no more shall any lease be taken. When part of the tax is paid, and part is still due, a list shall be prepared showing the arrears for the whole year; and an *Anchāli*(4) (or authorization) taken in writing to realize the same from the *Sabha* and the inhabitants; and the arrears then recovered accordingly. In seasons of drought and consequent failure of crops, the members of the *Sabha* and the people of the village shall inspect the lands, and ascertain which have failed and which have not. The lands that have failed shall be assessed at one-fifth of the normal dues, but this one-fifth shall be levied as an additional charge on the remaining lands bearing a crop. If all the taxable lands appear to have equally failed, the *Sabha* and the villagers shall report the matter to *Tuvâmi*, and after the *Tuvâmi* has inspected the lands and ascertained the fact, one-fifth (of the entire dues) shall be levied. This one-fifth shall be taken to include *Paṭṭa Vritti* and *Ôṇa Chelavu*, amounting in paddy to * *. If the members of the *Sabha* and the inhabitants agree among themselves, and pray in common for a postponement of the payment, as the only course open to a majority among them, this demand (one-fifth drought rate)

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(1) *Arakkal* and *Chāral* seem to have been the crops of those days; now they are called *Kanni and Kumbham.*

(2) Obviously then there were lands that paid no tax to Government.

(3) There are about 5 or 6 words here which carry no meaning to my mind. So also after the word 'fine' about the end of the deed.

(4) I take this word conjecturally to mean some kind of authorization.

shall be apportioned over all the lands paying tax to Government, (to be levied in the subsequent harvest) but without interest and *Paṭṭâri*, the rent roll of the current year being scored out. Should anything whatever be done contrary to these rules, the deviation shall be visited with fine, * * * and the strict procedure again adopted. This our regulation shall continue in force as long as the moon and the stars endure. This is a true stone inscribed copy of the holy Royal writ.

34. Such is the substance of the remarkable document before us, as far as I can make it out. Containing as it does several obsolete revenue terms, I cannot vouch for the literal accuracy of every word in my rendering. One or two expressions still remain obstinate and obscure. Nevertheless, I feel sure I cannot be far wrong with the bulk of my interpretation. Nor can there be any doubt as to the unique importance of the record. Unlike the inscriptions hitherto noticed, the one before us grants, not a perpetual lamp or 'a mountain-like' drum to the gods above, but peace and protection to toiling humanity here below. One of the most momentous questions in all human communities has been, and will always be, the price each individual in it has to pay for the advantages of organized social life. In proportion to the fixity and definiteness characterizing this price, in all its aspects, is the Government of the community said to be civilized, stable, and constitutional. An important item in the price to be thus paid is the pecuniary contribution given by each individual for the maintenance of the State. In all agricultural countries, the bulk of the contribution must assume the form of land tax. In Travancore, then, which is little else than agricultural, where in fact there is no individual but has his *Tarawâḍ*, his plot of land, the plot in which he is born, in which he lives and works, and in which he dies and is cremated too, so that his very ashes stick to it even after his soul departs this world, in a country so entirely agricultural, there can be no question of more vital interest, or of more universal concern, than the nature and amount of

land tax, the manner and time of paying it, and the machinery through which it is realized for the State. It appears to have been the practice with several Governments in bygone days to farm out the land revenue to the highest bidders, with a view to save themselves the trouble and expense of collecting it by drops and dribblets. The iniquity of the system may be better imagined than described. It seems, nevertheless, to have been current in the neighbouring districts of Tinnevelly and Madura, until the very days of the Honourable East India Company. But in Travancore, thanks to our village associations and the magnanimity and political sagacity that seem to have uniformly characterized the Venad sovereigns, the system, if it was ever largely introduced, was nipped in the bud, and the disasters of the fable of the goose with the golden eggs were early averted. For, observe how the Royal writ before us deals that system a deathblow. It quietly takes away, in the first place, its sting by fixing the Government dues exactly and unalterably per year and per harvest. The lease again is not to be a '*Tira Taravu*' an enduring one, but to be renewed from time to time, so that the Government farmer would have no chance of abusing his power on the strength of the hold he might otherwise have on the people. The writ provides, further, for the reduction of the Government demand to one-fifth in times of drought and failure. Why when some lands alone fail in a village, this one-fifth should be given up on those lands, but levied as an additional charge upon the remaining might demand a word of explanation. In seasons of partial failure, and in tracts of land not fully opened out by easy lines of communication, the price of corn goes easily high : and the Kôdainallûr Council seems to have thought it just, or at all events conducive to fellow feeling, that those that are benefited by such an adventitious rise of prices should forego a portion of their profits for the sake of their suffering fellow-villagers. At any rate, the measure must have acted as a check upon false complaints

of failure, since the duty of determining what lands had failed, and what not, was left to the villagers themselves under the supervision of the *Sabha.* It would be interesting to know who the *Tuvâmi* or *Swâmi* was, to whom the edict assigns the duty of ascertaining and certifying the fact, in case the whole village fails. He was, no doubt, some high ecclesiastical functionary, with a considerable portion of the land revenue of the village probably assigned to him for his own support and the support of the temples he was in charge of. The prohibition to take out leases from the *Tuvâmi* would then mean a prohibition to farm out to the highest bidder the land revenue so assigned to him. Anyhow, when the *Swâmi* certifies a complete failure of crops in the whole village, the Government reduces its total demand to one-fifth, and foregoes, in addition, its right to levy two minor charges, under the names of *Paṭṭa Vritti,* probably a present on the anniversary of the Sovereign's accession to the throne, and *Ôṇa*(1) *Chelavu,* a special contribution to keep up the annual national festival of that name. Deviation from the rules is forbidden under some severe penalties, the extent and nature of which, however, I am not able to discover; and the rates of assessment as well as the rules are declared unalterable as long as the moon and the stars endure. Can a *permanent* Revenue Settlement go further? or can a more deadly blow be imagined on the farming system, which seems to have been allowed to do so much mischief, and for so long a time, in the neighbouring Tamil districts? The preamble to this remarkable Proclamation adds but a charm and a dignity of its own to the whole. It is said that the edict is issued in terms of the understanding

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(1) *Óṇam* or *Srâvaṇam* is a star in Aquila. The national festival is called by this name, because it falls on the day the moon reaches this mansion in September. It is probably connected with the harvest, Parasurâma's yearly visit being a later fiction. Tenants do present to this day to their landlords certain agricultural products under the name of *Ôṇa Kâḷcha.*

come to in a Council composed of the loyal chieftains or ministers of the king, the association of Kôdainallûr, the people of the village, and Kaṇḍan Tiruvikraman, the local revenue farmer or collector. I call him the *collector*, for, however oppressive a lessee or farmer he might have been before the date of this document, he and his successors in office could have been nothing more than simple collectors of revenue, *after* the exact definition of the Government dues given in the edict itself. No doubt, he must have been a terrible man in his day, with an appointed function in the evolution of history, not unlike, perhaps, the one played by those who went forth to demand 'ship money' from Hampden. The good people of Kôdainallûr seem to have been also equal to the occasion. Here is proof, if need be, of the independent nature and constitution of our old Village Associations. The *Sabhas* being mentioned side by side with the people, it is impossible to take them as mere occasional assemblies of the inhabitants, summoned together, for the time being, by those in charge of the administration. Here they appear as permanent and well-constituted Public bodies that acted as a buffer between the people and the Government. The village or common lands, so clearly distinguished from those directly under Government, in this our present record, was in all probability everywhere under *their* management. What exactly was the service the good *Sabha* of Kôdainallûr was able to render on this occasion, or what exactly were the circumstances that brought about this memorable Council itself, we have as yet no means of knowing ; but whatever they were, the whole procedure reflects the greatest credit on all the parties concerned, their conjoint action resulting in so precious a charter to the people, and so unmistakable a monument of the sovereign's unbounded love of his subjects. Though the wording of the document makes the enactment applicable primarily only to the village of Kôdainallûr, I have no doubt it was sooner or later extended to the whole of Venad. A just principle needs but once to be recognized

to be applied on all hands. I hesitate not, therefore, to call this Manalikkarai Proclamation, one of the *great charters of Travancore.* Entered as it is on a detached stone, and containing as it does several expressions yet dark and obscure, it would be well to remove the original document itself and to preserve it in the Public Museum at the capital, where, I have no doubt, it will now receive better treatment than was accorded to a similar tablet from Varkkalai, which, having discharged well and long the duty of a grindstone, is now so far defaced as to reveal nothing more than its ancient age and its iniquitous sufferings ![1]

35. But the immediate purpose for which the Manalikkarai charter is here introduced is to prove the rule of Sri Vira Ravi Kerala Varma on the 28th Mêḍam 410 M.E., or about April 1235. Having met Sri Vira Râman Kerala Varma only 21 years prior, we may take the two reigns as having been conterminous with one another. Seventeen years later still, we meet with another monarch of Venad. That the 22nd of Iḍavam 427 was a day in the reign of *Sri Vira Pudmanâbha Mârtaṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍi* is proved by a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription at *Varkkalai,* a place of pilgrimage about 24 miles to the north of Trivandram. Perhaps to the pilgrim world in India, no place in Travancore is so well known as *Varkkalai* or *Janârdanam.* The geologically interesting cliffs that form

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(1) This is a remarkable old specimen of Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription. It seems to be dated 79 M.E. I believe it comes from Varkkalai. It opens with a string of Sanscrit words written in old Malayalam characters in praise of the then ruling king. The body of the document is in Vaṭṭeḻuttu. But in spite of all my repeated endeavours, oil *abhishêkams* and *pûjas* without number, I have not succeeded as yet in coaxing it to reveal even a line in full, the middle of it being so completely defaced by the use to which it was put by the *Marâmut coolies.* A hundred times the cost of the mortar ground on it would not have been ill spent, if it had been spent in the preservation of this unique ancient monument. It appears to me to record an important treaty between certain parties of whom *Uyyakkoṇḍan* was surely one.

the characteristic features of this promontory are obviously of much earlier formation than the alluvial soil surrounding it on all sides, and possibly the early Indian geographers used it, along with *Cape Comorin* and *Rameswaram* on the eastern coast,(1) for marking off the southern contour of their favourite *Bhârata Varsha.* The mineral springs of this sacred place may be taken, perhaps, as furnishing another and more practical justification for the estimation in which it is held by foreign pilgrims. To the *Stala Purâṇa*,(2) of the place, however, the hills and the springs are as if they never existed. It delights only to relate how on one occasion the *Dêvas* performed a *yâga* sacrifice on the spot, how the Brahmins had then a feast, rich and indescribable, and how the local deity, with the object of perpetuating that feast, practised a clever and successful practical joke upon the authors thereof! On the southern wall of the chief shrine in this spot, will be found in four lines the document I now proceed to translate:—

No. $\frac{13}{48}$. VATTEḶUTTU / OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 427, with Jupiter entering into Aries, and the sun 21 days old in Taurus, Wednesday, the 5th lunar day after new moon, and with the sign of Cancer rising in the orient, the loyal chieftains, of Sri Vira Pudmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Venad, consecrated the holy temple of Vaḍasêrikkarai, at Udaiya Mârtâṇḍapuram in Varkkalai, after constructing with granite stones the inner shrine from the foundations to the wall

(1) It is possible that the sanctity of *Varkkalai* is partly due to its having been taken by early Indian geographers to be in the same latitude as *Ramêswaram* in the east. Later, perhaps, a closer approximation was attempted by the foundation of a temple near Quilon, under the very name of Ramêswaram. That something of the kind must have been meant is proved by such places as the following almost in the same latitude:—Alwaye and Madura, whose ancient name was Âlavây, and Trichur and Trichinopoly, obviously derived from the same root, despite modern fanciful corruptions.

(2) It is available only in manuscript. Its style is clearly modern.

plates, and paving the courtyard with stones, besides repairing the Sri Mukha Maṇḍapam (or the hall in front facing the shrine).

36. This is one of the most satisfactory Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions with me, every word in it being clear and unmistakeable. It proves that on the morning of the 22nd of Iḍavam 427 M.E., about 9 A.M., Wednesday, the throne of Venad was enjoyed by Sri Vira Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍi, who in all probability immediately succeeded His Highness Sri Vira Ravi Kêraḷa Varma of Maṇalikkarai fame. It is interesting to note that the sacred spot where the temple now stands was then called Udaiyamârtâṇḍapuram, no doubt, in commemoration of an earlier builder or patron of the fane; but it cannot be the Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma of our Tiruvaṭṭar inscription, as it is not likely that the temple could have demanded repair and reconstruction in so short a time. That the chiefs of Sri Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma were not the originators of the temple is clear enough from their having had only to repair the hall facing the shrine.

37. Hitherto we have had a series of sovereigns, from 301 to 427, with intervals too short to lead us to suspect their unbroken succession. But now for the first time appears an apparent blank. The next king of Venad revealed by the documents in my collection is Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma II., who ruled on the 22nd of Kumbham 491 M.E. There is thus an interval of 64 years —a period presumably too long to be allotted to one reign. What princes, if any, enjoyed the throne of Venad during the interval, and whether they have left any traces at all behind them, future researches alone can determine. I have about 15 documents in my present collection, dated from 400 to 491, but none of them gives me any help. On the other hand, judging by the light of these records, one would be led to conclude that this unaccounted interval of half a century was a time of trouble in the south-eastern frontiers of Venad. It is about this time that the foreign

temple of Rajendra Cholisvaram at Kôṭṭar receives several grants and dedications from private parties, *primâ facie* foreign to Travancore. In the midst of these grants and presumably of the same age, so far as palæography and situation can tell us, occur four inscriptions dated in the 11th year of *Sri Sundara Chôḷa Pâṇḍya Dêva, alias Kôchchaḍaiya Varma.* In an inscription at Suchîndram, dated the 9th year of the same Pandya Deva, this ancient village is itself called 'Sundara Chôla Chatur Vêdi Mangalam.' Finally in *Saka* 1293 or 546 of our Malabar Era, this same foreign temple of Rajendra Chola receives substantial repairs in the hands of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Dêva. What could all this mean but that South Travancore was once more, about this period, under foreign sway? It looks highly probable that Sri Sundara Chola Pâṇḍya Dêva of the inscriptions we have just noticed, was the same as Sundara Pandya Jaṭhâ Varma, whose accession(1) is calculated by Shankar Dikshit of Dhulia, from materials furnished by Dr. Hultzsch, to have taken place in *Saka* year 1172, and whose ninth year of reign in consequence would be *Saka* 1181, or 531 M.E., *i.e.*, exactly seven years after the chieftains of our Vira Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma completed their reconstruction of the temple at Varkkalai. Probably, then, soon after the completion of that architectural undertaking in the north, Sri Vira Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma must have been called upon to do more anxious duties in the south. The cloud must have been gathering in that horizon even much earlier. I find the foreign temple of Rajendra Cholisvaram rising into favour from 392 M.E. The contest might have been long kept up, but the result could not have been other than unfavourable. Sundara Chola Pâṇḍya Dêva succeeded at least in wresting the whole of the district of which Kôṭṭâr was the centre. He seems to have established also his authority so widely and well as to lead private parties

(1) *Vide* page 221 of *The Indian Antiquary* for August 1893.

to reckon their grants in the year of his reign, and to call an ancient hamlet like Suchîndram, by a new fangled name, coined specially to flatter his pride. Sundara Chola Pandya Kôchchaiḍya Varma was by no means the last of the revived dynasty of Pandyas to trouble Travancore. I have with me an inscription dated the 3rd year of Uḍaiyar Sri Chola Pandya Deva Kôchchaḍaiya Varma, another dated the 2nd year of a simple Kôchchaḍaiya Varma, probably the same as the last; two again dated in the reign of Vikrama Chôḷa Pâṇḍya Dêva Mâra Varma, and two more in the reign of Sri Vallabha Dêva Mâra Varma. These and other important records of foreign sovereigns in Travancore, I shall, with your permission, place before you in the course of another lecture. I refer to them here only in the way of showing that, pending further researches, we may, for the present, reasonably assume that the *hiatus* of 60 years, of which we have now no account to give, was a period too full of trials and tribulations to allow occasions for such acts of charities and temple buildings as form the subject matter of our inscriptions in general.

38. But before the century we are now in did end, the Pâṇḍyan wave of conquest must have receded for a while; for we get once more a glimpse of our beloved Venad throne in 491 M.E. On the 22nd of Kumbham of that year, that throne was occupied by Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma II., *alias* Vira Pâṇḍya Dêva. My authority for the statement is an inscription in five lines on the southern wall of a temple at Kêraḷapuram about three miles from Padmanâbhapuram. It would read thus, if translated:—

No. 14/69. VAṬṬELUTTU. / OLD MALAYALAM.

In the Kollam year 491, and in the 4th year, the sun being 21 days old in Acquarius, is made the following grant. The loyal chieftains of Sri Vîra Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍiyâr, Vîra Pâṇḍya Dêvar, graciously ruling over Venad, do hereby provide in writing for a holy *Nanda* lamp and for the

daily expenses of the Mahâdêva of Sri Vira Kêraḷêsvaram, at Muttalaikkuruchchi, in Pâlkôḍu Dêsam, in Division No. 1 of the district of Chenkaḻunîrnâḍu, in Tennâḍu, belonging to (or under the administration of) the said chieftains. Accordingly, the said chieftains make over (for the said purpose) all the dues taken as *Kaḻiyakkam*, from this *Dêsam* (or circle), including *Oṭṭira* tax, *Uvvi*, bamboo grain, *Aḻagerutu*, duty on looms and palmyras, *Karaip-paṟṟu*, fines and *Kô-muṟaippâḍu*. In this manner then, the said chieftains grant in writing, all the dues taken as *Kaḻiyakkam* from this *Dêsam* (or circle), including *Oṭṭira* tax, *Uvvi*, bamboo grain, *Aḻagerutu*, duty on looms and palmyras, *Karaippaṟṟu*, fines, and *Kô-muṟaippâḍu*, excepting such of them as have been already granted to meet the charges of the Mahâdêva of Tiruvitânkôḍu(1) and the Dêva and Bhagavati of Pâkkôḍu, to be made use of as long as the moon and the stars endure, for the purpose of supplying the daily needs of the Mahâdêva of Kêraḷêsvaram, and a holy *Nanda* lamp to the same deity, which fact we the following do know and can attest:—Châttan Maṇiyan of Tâlkkil Pulavaramaṇ, Nârâyaṇan Kuḍîsan of Pen-ankâḍu, Kaṇḍan Iravi Varman (signature) * * Tiruvikraman of Punalûri (signature). This deed in *cadjan* is written with the knowledge of the above persons by Irâman Kêraḷan of Kaitavây (signature).

39. Thus then on the 22nd Kumbham 491 M.E., or roughly speaking about the end of February 1316, the sovereign of Venad was Sri Vîra Udaiya Mârtaṇḍa Varma, who, it will be observed, styled himself further Vîra Pâṇḍya Dêva. Nothing can be of greater historical interest than to know the circumstances that led to the assumption of of this new and foreign title; but I have succeeded as yet in finding no clue whatever towards its solution. May it be that when the Pâṇḍya power shrunk back to its original condition, after having been blown out into dangerous and meddlesome greatness by the breath of a Kôchchaḍaiyan or a Kômâran, the Venad kings not only regained their

(1) The word Travancore is a corruption of Tiruvitânkôḍu. But I am not at all sure *Tiruvitânkôḍu* is analysable into *Sri Vâlum Kôdu*, as is now so generally assumed. The derivation owes its plausibility to the corrupt form of *Tiruvânkôḍu*.

lost ground, but also retaliated by invading and conquering a portion of the dominions of their recent conquerors, and assumed, too, their style and manners to legitimize their hold upon the territories so added to their own? Agreeably to this foreign title, we find also the no less foreign method of dating the inscription in the year of the sovereign's reign. But thanks to the wisdom of the Venad chiefs, this new method was not allowed to supersede, but was only combined with, the old and sensible way of reckoning in the fixed Kollam Era. In the case before us, therefore, the mention of the year of the king's reign, instead of giving rise to endless collations and calculations, as is so usual in Indian Epigraphy, only gives us the additional welcome information that Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma ascended the throne three years previously, *i.e.*, in 488 M.E. It is quite possible that the reference is made not to the year of the accession, but to the date of his assuming the foreign title of Vîra Pâṇḍya Dêva. In either case, we are sure that the reigning sovereign of Venad on the 22nd of Kumbham 491 (March 1316) was Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍi. Having already met a king of this name, we shall call him Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma II., or as styled in the document before us, Vîra Pâṇḍya Dêva.

40. As for the particulars of the grant, I am at a loss to understand the nature of all the taxes set apart by this document for the use of the Mahâdêva. Most of the terms used are unknown to literature and lexicons, and as far as I am aware, they are obsolete also in the current revenue system of the land. Neither *Kaḻiyakkam* nor *Oṭṭira* carries any meaning to my mind. *Uvvi*, according to Winslow, may mean 'Head;' but what sort of tax was called by this rare word for head is now impossible to conjecture. '*Bamboo grain*' is still of some use to Hill-men, and probably it stood, in those days of little or no forest conservancy, as the type of hill products, which in Travancore now includes besides timber, ivory, bees wax, &c. *Aḻagerutu* is a term we have already met with and despaired of. Literally it

may mean a 'fair bull.' To the known tax on hand-looms, we find here attached a tax on the palmyra, and it looks probable that what is meant is a tax for tapping, and not otherwise using that palm. Besides fines, the Government of those days, it would appear, appropriated certain payments under the name of *Kô-muṛai Pâḍu,* literally 'Royal-justice-income,' which we might take to represent the court fees and 'Judicial revenue' of modern times. *Karaippaṟṟu* means adhering to or reaching land, and it might be taken to include treasure troves, mines, jetsams and floatsams and all such royalties known to law. It would be interesting indeed to know how, at what rates, and through what agencies, these several taxes were levied, and what exactly was the bearing of the change with respect to both people and Government, when the revenue was assigned away, as in the present instance, for the maintenance of a particular temple. One would think from the minute political divisions and subdivisions noticed in this document that the administration of the revenue was far from crude or primitive. We know already that Venad was primarily divided into 18 Provinces or Nâḍus, and probably Tennâḍu, or Southern Province, was one of these primary divisions. That the part of the country about Padmanâbhapuram should be called the southern province, while the one still further to the south is named *Nânchil Nâḍu,* may be significant of the extent of the Venad Principality at one stage of its history. The loose and redundant style of the document speaks badly of the literary capacities of the hereditary clerk of the crown, Kaitavây Irâman Kêraḷan,—whose family name Kaitavây occurs so frequently in the royal grants in our collection,—unless, indeed, it is taken to indicate the hurried occasion of the grant itself, such as the flush of a signal triumph, or sudden recovery from a serious malady. The absence of the usual expression 'Hail! Prosperity!' at the commencement, and that of the 'Sign Manual' at the end are omissions equally worthy of attention. What they signify, if anything at all, we

have no data to determine. That only two of the four ministers or chieftains that arrange for the grant sign their names may to some extent be taken as an indication of the state of education at the time.

41. The next record with me will take us beyond the fifth Malabar century, and therefore beyond the scope of the permission I have taken from you this time to address you. Of the many themes of historical interest calling for investigation all around us here in Travancore, we selected its ancient Royal House, that beloved Royal House to which we are all so devoted, as the one most naturally and rightfully claiming our first and foremost attention. Limiting ourselves then to a particular period in the history of that house, viz., the 4th and 5th Malabar centuries, of which no account *of whatever description* was forthcoming, and availing ourselves of *but one* of the means of historical researches, the safest and the best in fact, *viz.*, public stone inscriptions, we endeavoured to find whether there were no rays of light to dispel the desperate darkness in which the epoch was allowed hitherto to stand enveloped. Even putting aside all side lights and inferences as to the general condition of the country, its society, its economy, its internal government, we have now the following solid facts to offer :—

I. Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma ruled Venad in 301 and 319 M.E.
II. Sri Vira Ravi Varma ruled Venad in 336 and 342 M.E.
III. Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma, in 348 M.E.
IV. Sri Âditya Râma Varma ruled Venad in 365 M.E.
V. Sri Vira Râma Varma ruled Venad in 371 M.E.
VI. Sri Vira Râman Kêraḷa Varma, in 384 and 389 M.E.
VII. Sri Vira Ravi Kêraḷa Varma ruled Venad in 410 M.E.
VIII. Sri Vira Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma, in 427 M.E.
IX. Sri Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma II. *alias* Vira Pâṇḍya Dêva ruled Venad in 491 M.E.

It will be observed, in this list of the early sovereigns of Travancore, whose names and dates the inscriptions

I have now laid before you have served to bring to light, I have not included the doubtful case of Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma II. of the Âṟṟingal fragments, or of Kôda Mârtâṇḍa, who seems to have taken part in the institution of the Kollam Era in 824 A.D. Reject these two names, and reject also, if you please, every word of my inferences and surmises, and yet you will have, *for the first time revealed to you*, the names and dates of *nine* of the old and revered sovereigns of Venad. That these names and dates by themselves will not constitute the history of the two centuries we took up for our study, needs no saying. But that they will stand in good stead when the history of the epoch comes to be written is my humble hope and trust.

APPENDIX.

The following are copies of the inscriptions made use of in the above lectures, transliterated into ordinary modern Tamil and Malayalam characters. I use Tamil letters for every variety of *Vatteluttu* and *old Tamil*, and Malayalam for *old Malayalam*. The interspersed *Tamil Granta* characters are shown as such. For purposes of palæography nothing short of Photo-lithographs can be of much real service. The English numerals indicate the lines as separated in the original engravings.

No. 1/9. OLD TAMIL.

ஒழுகணசேரிக்கடுத்த இராஜேந்திர சோழீசுவரர்கோயில் மேற்குச்சுவரிலுள்ள சிலாலிகிதம்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் தோன்றி நூாக மாண்டினெதிரா மாண்டு சிங்கநாயிற்று வேணாடு வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீ வீர கேரளபன்மர்க்கு அமைஞ்ச அதிகாரிகள் வருக்கைப்பள்ளித்தனஞ் செயங்கண்டனும் மண்ணூர்வாழ்கின்ற ஸ்ரீசக்கிராயுதனுகின்ற ஸ்ரீ தொங்கபல்ல ஸ்ரீசையனும் எழுத்துச் சிறுவரிபண் (2) கண்ணங்கோவிந்தனும் உள்ளிருப்பு குன்றின்மேல் விக்கிரமன் குன்றனுன கேரள சிங்கபல்லவரையனும் காரியமாக கோட்டாறான மும்முடி சோழநல்லூர் இராஜேந்த்ர சோழ ஈஸ்வரமுடய மஹாதேவர்க்கு மந்திரபோ[a]னகம் அமுதுசெய்தருள நித்தம் அரிசி நானாழியு (3) ம் கறியமுது நெய்யமுதுந் தயிரமுது அடைக்காயமுது இலையமுதுக்கும் திருநொந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றுக்கும் மும்முடி சோழநல்லூரிப்பால் வடசேரியில் இத்தேவர் தேவதானம் ஸ்வாஜி கொள்ளுங்கடமை நெல்லுங்காசும (4) துங்கொண்டு இத்தேவற்கு இந்நிமந்தம் சந்திராதித்தவற் செல்வதாகப் பெலிக்கல்லினில் நீர்வார்த்து கல்வெட்டுவித்துக் குடுத்தோம்.

(*a*) போ is written ெற which is not a usual compound even in *old* Tamil.

No. $\frac{2}{47}$. VAṬṬEḶUTTU.

திருவல்லத்தில் பிரமதேவர் கோவில் மேற்கு அஸ்திவாரச் சுவரிலுள்ள சிலாலகிதம்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஶ்ரீ விரிச்சிகத்தில் வ்வியாழந்நின்ற யாண்டு கொல்ல நாயகூ தாமாண்டை மகரஞாயிற்றுச் செயித காரியமாவிது வேணுடு வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஶ்ரீ வீரகோள வர்ம்மர் திரு (2) வடிக்கமஞ்ச அதிகாரருடைய தெங்ஙநாடு சியித்ததில் நிகமத்தாரகத்து ஆண்டுவரயுங் கடமையால்க் கொள்ளுநெல் * * ஞ் சேவதுமழகெருதுந் நெய்யுந்தளி (3)க் காணமுந்திருவல்லத்து மாதேவர்க்குந் திருக்கண்ணப் பன்னுங் கணபதிக்குந் நமக்காரத்தின்னுந் நித்தமும் அத்தாழத்திருவமுர்து செய்யுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச (4) அரிமடைஎ நாழியும் இரண்டிடத்துந் திருவறை வாதில்க்கல் ஒரோ திங்கள் ஒரோததிவிசெல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச தீபமாலைக் குங்கூட எழு (5) திக்கொடுத்தாரதிகாரர் இக்கா [ல] முதலா மாதேவர்க் கரி இருநாழி திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னரி இருநாழி கணபதிக்கரிநாழி நமஸ்காரத்தின்னரி இரு (6) நாழி இதின்னு மேல்க் காட்டுசேரியார் கூட்டிக்கொடுத்த அச்சுவன்னும் நேவியாலொள்ளமுதலுங்கூட நாராணத்தாதர்கைக்கொண்டு செலுத்தித் தாம் விலைகொண் (7) ட அருவியூர்ப்புரை யிடத்தில்த் திருநந்தாவனமுஞ் சமைச்சு மூன்றிடத்தும் ஈரண்டு திருமாலயுஞ்சார்த்திச்சு சோறுமெடுத்து கொண்டுவருவிது நாராண (8) தாதர் இப்பரிசேநிகமத்து கடமை நெல் * * முமழகெருது நெயிதளைக்காணமுமச்சு வுந் நேவியுந் நாராணதாதர் ஆண்டுவரை ஆறுதி (9) ங்கள் வாரமுங்கொண்டு குறியுங்கொடுத்து செலவுஞ் செலுத்தித்திரு நந்தாவனமுந் திருமாலயுந்திவமாலயுஞ் செலுத்திவருவிது நாராண (10) தாதரி* * * * ஸபையும் பிடாரதிருவடியும் சோகிகள்க் குந் திருவுள்ளமாயவரைக்கொண்டு இவ்வண்ணமே ஆசந்த்ரு தாரவல் செல்லு.(a)

(a) Observe the admixture of *Malayalam Granta* characters in the above *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* record. The style and *Santi* indicate the *natural variations* that led to the evolution of the Malayalam dialect.

No. 3/29. OLD TAMIL.

புரவரவில் ஆழ்வார் கோயில் தென்புறச்சுவரில்,

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொல்லந்தோன்றி ௩௱௩௰௯ மாண்டைக் கெ
திராமாண்டு இடபநாயிறு ௯ சென்ற சனிமகயிரத்து நாள்
செய்ததான ஓலைக்கரணமாவது வேணுடுவாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற
ஸ்ரீவீர இரவிவர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமைந்த அதிகாரர் புரவரிச்
சதுர்வெதி மங்கலத்துப் புரவரவில (2) ழ்வார்க்கு நித்தல்
நிமந்தத்தினும் ஒரு திருநந்தாவிளக்கினும் திருவிடையாட்ட
மாக ஆசந்திரதாரஞ் செல்வதாகவிட்ட (நிலம்) தாழைக்குடிச்
சாரார்காலாலும் சாரவயற்குளம் செய்யானேரியாலும் நீர்
பாஞ்சு நெல்விளைவது உன்னந்திட்டை (நிலம்காலே யிரண்
டுமாமுந்திரிகை)யும் புதுவூரார் மூலையில் (நிலம் மூன்றுமா)ம்
(3) [ஆக] பத்துமாமுந்திரிகையும் இக்காலம்முதல் ஊரோ
டொத்தகடமைமாத்தால் * * * * இவ்வாழ்வார்கன்மிகள்
தரவெழுதிக்குடுத்து புரவரியாளுமே ஸ்ரீ பண்டார அறை
வாசலிலே அளப்பித்துக்கொண்டு இச்சிலவு முட்டாமல்
செல்வதாகவும் இ(ந்நில)த்துக்கு நான் கெல்லையிலுந் திருவா
ழிக்கல்லு (4) இம்மார்க்கம் கற்பிச்சமைக்கு கல்லிலுஞ் செம்
பிலும் எழுத்து வெட்டிவித்து இச்சிலவுமுட்டாமல் செல்வ
தாக கற்பிச்சமைக்கு இவை புல்லாலனையன் எழுத்து சிங்
கன் ரங்கன் எழுத்து நாராயணன் சங்கரன் எழுத்துகோதை
தேவன் எழுத்து திருவெழுத்து உ [(a)]

No. 4/44. Do.

மேற்படிகோயில் மேற்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்வஸ்தி * * * * * * ண்டு இடபநாயிறு [௯] (2)
சென்ற சனிமகயிரத்தினுள் நாஞ்சி நாட்டுக்காரியஞ்செயின்
றவர்களுந் தாழைக்குடியூருங்கூட இருந்து சேதுகுடுத்த
பரிசாவது புரவரிச்சதுர்வெதிமங்கலத்து புர * * * *
* * * * * ரவிவர்ம்ம திருவடி (3) க்கமைந்த அதிகாரர்
திருச்சேநிடைக்கும் திருநந்தாவிளக்குக்குந் திருவுள்ளஞ்
சேதருளிவந்த திருமுகப்படி தாழைக்குடி கிடசேரி சாரார்
காலாலும் சாரவயற்குளஞ் செய்யானேரியாலும் நீர்பா *

(a) The parts in semicircular brackets express in words what is n symbols in the original.

* * * * * மூலேயில் (நிலம்) (4) (மூன்றுமாவு)ம் ஆக (நில)ம் பத்துமாமுந்திரிகையும் இந்நாள்முதல் கைகொண்டு ஊரோடொத்தகடமைகொண்டு இவ்வாழ்வார்க்கு நித்த நிமந்தமும் திருநந்தாவிளக்கு மாவநூதாரஞ்செல்வ * * * * * * * தாகவும் சில்வரிசேதா (5) ரம் இந்நிலத்துக்கு இறுப்பதாகவும் இப்படி இந்நிலங்கொண்டு முட்டாச்செலவு செல்விதாகத் திருவுள்ளஞ் சேதருளினபடியே கல்லிலும் வெட்டிக்குடுத்து இந்நிலத்துக்கு நான்கெல்லே * * * * * * * க்குடுத்தோம் இக்கா (6) ரியஞ்செய்யின்றவாளேக் கூட இருத்தி இத்தாழைக்குடி ஊரோம் இவ்வாழ்வார் கன்மிகளுக்கு இப்படிக்கு அரையன் பசிதாங்கி எழுத்து இவை கோளன் அரங்கன் எழுத்து இ * * * * * * இவை விக்கிரமன் அரங்க (7) ன் எழுத்து இவை வேளான் கோளனை நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மூவேந்த வேளான் எழுத்து இச்செய்கல் வோலே எழுதினேன் கோயிற்கன்மிகளுந் தாழை ஊராரும் பணிக்க எழுதினேன் பனே ஊருடையான் வேளா * * * * * * * * (8) ரன் எழுத்து கோளன ஸந்தோஷப் பல்லவனையன் எழுத்து கோவிந்தன் விக்கிரமன் எழுத்து அனந்தன் சச்கிரபாணி எழுத்து (a)

No. $\frac{5}{43}$. OLD TAMIL.

மேற்படிகோயில் தேன்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொல்லந் [தோன்] (2) றி நூாசமி மாண்டு சிங்கநாயிறு எ சென்றநாள் செய்ததான ஓலேச்கரணமாவிது (3) ஆற்றுவழிபோக்கர் இரண்டு ப்ராஹ்மணபோஜனத்துக்கும் கற்பித்துவிட்ட (நிலம்) கோட்டாற் [று] (4) லும் கைச்சிறையாலும் நீருண்டு நெல்விளேவிது சேர * நீலகண்டன் பற்று நிலம் பன்னிரண்டுமா [நாரா] யனன் குன்றப்பேரமூன் எழுத்து காளி குன்றப்பேரமுன் எழுத்து திருவெழுத்து.

No. $\frac{6}{10}$. VAṬṬEḶUTTU.

திருவாட்டாற்று ஆதிகேசவப்பெருமாள் கோயில் தேன்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் நூாசமிஅ டாமாண்டை கர்க்கடகத்தில் வியாழந்நின்ற மீனஞாயிறு (மி) ச்சென்ற வியாழம் அனு

(a) The omissions due to the removal of one of the inscribed stones are marked thus * * * * *

மும் இந்நாளால் வேணாட்டு கோளிடைகூறுவாண்ணருகின்ற ஸ்ரீவீர உதைய மார்த்தாட்டவர்ம திருவடி திருவாட்டாற்று பள்ளிகொண்டருளின்ற பெருமாள்கு நியதிப்படிமுட்டாச்சிலவரி * * * * ஆதிச்சனுதையன்னனுந் தம்பிமாற்கும்வுள்ள நிலம் செரியகறைக் கூட்டிய பெறை (நிலம்) * * வும் மாத்தறை (நில) ம் * கூட * * ஞல் (நில) ம் * * மேலும்வுள்ள மூன்று சலாகையும் அழகச்சுங்ய தின்னும் (2) நேலியால் கோதைநல்லூர் கீழ்ச்சேரித் திருக்கோயில்க்கல் கொண்டு வந்து * * * * * பூவழி. (*a*)

No. $\frac{7}{86}$. OLD MALAYALAM.

திருவனந்தபுரம் கோசாலை கிருஷ்ணன்கோயில் வடபுறச்சுவரில்.

സ്വസ്തിശ്രീഃ സ്യാനന്ദൂരൈകഗൊപ്തൂല (2) യ കമലഭൂശൈലഗൊദ മാൎത്താണ്ഡയൊളം (3) ന്ബാധീശഛത്രവാഹി ധൻഷിചകൃതനൈവെദ്യ (4) മൃത്യുംഗജീവെ ശ്രീമാനാദിത്യ രാമസ്സഹിരജതകൃതം (5) ഡിണ്ഡിമ മന്ദരാഭം ഡിണ്ഡിരാവണ്ഡഷണ്ഡദ്യുതിശ്ച (6) ഭമദിശന്മാറു ആത്മാക്ഷമായാഃ. (*b*)

No. $\frac{8A}{83}$. VAṬṬEḺUTTU.

வீரளம் அஸ்திவார வடகிழக்குச் சுவரில்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் ஙாசுூஅ மாண்டிகன்னியில் வியாழந்நின்ற இடபஞாயிறு உ சென்ற நாள் கீழ்ப்.

No. $\frac{8B}{83}$. Do.

மேற்படி நாலம்பலத்துக்கு முன்னுள்ள பலிபீடத்தின் மேற்குப்புறம்.

ஸ்ரீதேவதரங் கோளவர்ம்ம திருவடிபிரதிட்டபண்ணியது.

(*a*) இன்ற is now unknown to Malayalam. It is curious to note how in the above Vaṭṭeḻuttu record it is seeking to slip out of the language. அருன்இன்ற is first spelt அருஇன்ற and then அருளின்ற.

(*b*) There are not many letters in old Malayalam which have not since altered their form. ഭ. for instance is written ஹ as in Tamil *Granta*.

No. $\frac{9}{60}$. VAṬṬEḶUTTU.

வெள்ளாணிக்குணங்கரை ஆழ்வார்கோயில் அஸ்திவாரத் தென்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கர்க்கடத்தில் வியாழந்நின்றயாண்டு கொல்லம்
௲௭௰௧ மாண்டை மேடஞாயிறு ௨௰௪ சென்ற நாள்ச் செ
ய்த காரியமாவிது வேணுடுவாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீ வீரராம
வர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமைஞ்ச அதிகாரருடைய செங்கோட்
டாறு (2) சேரிக்கல் திருக்குண கரைவானமாதவ நாராயண
விண்ணகர் ஆழ்வான்னு செலவுந்திருநந்தா விளக்கின்னும்
எழுதி நீரோடுமட்டிக்கொடுத்தார் அதிகாரர் இக்காலம்முத
லாய் இச்சேரிக்கல் வேணுட்டறுநூற்றுவரும் பணி (3)
செய்யின்றவர்ளுங் காரியஞ் செய்யின்றவர்ளும் மனுழச்ச
மாய்த்திருக்குணகரைச் செலவுசெலுத்துமவன் னேழியூர்ப்
பட்டாரகர்க்கு செலவின்னு முன்னம் அதிகாரர் கல்ப்பிச்சு
விட்டு கொடுத்த நிலந்நீக்கிவுள்ளதெப்பேர்ப் (4) பட்டதும்
கூட அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டு நியதம்மடையால் நாழுழிச்சேவ
தரிதிருவமிர்துஞ் செய்யிச்சுஒரோதிருநந்தா விளக்குஞ் செ
லுத்திவருவிது நியதம் அமிர்துசெய்யும் அரிமடை நாழுழி
க்கும் புறைக்கூலி நீக்கிஆ (5) ண்டுவரவேண்டுந்நெல் (பத்து)
க்காலால் இருபத்துநால்க்கலமுந் திருநந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றி
னுவேண்டுந் நெய்யெண்ணையுந்திரிநூலும் முட்டாதேசெலு
த்திவருவிது செங்கோட்டாற்று மேலுங்கிழுமொள்ள நிலத்
தில் ஊறுப் பூமியும் காராமை நில (6) த்தில்க்கொள்ளும்
மேலதுங்கொடுங்கரைப்புரயிடமும் ஆளும்மிக்கு எப்பேர்ப்
பட்டதுங்கூட அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டுசெலவும் முட்டாதே
செலுத்துவிது. இது ஒருதுடைமுட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி
இரண்டுதுடைமுட்டுகில் முரட்டிரட்டியுந் தெண்ட (7) மும்
மூன்று துடைமுட்டுகில் அறுநூற்றுவரும் பணிசெய்யின்
றவர்ளும் பதினெட்டுராஜ்யத்தில் வளஞ்சியரும் ஆராழ்ச்ச
பண்ணி ஆசருதாரவல் முட்டாதே செலுத்துவிது இச்சேரி
க்கல் நாலெல்ல அகப்படத் தோரணமுந்நாட்டித் திருவிடை
யாட்டமாக செல்லு மாறு (8) கல்ப்பிச்செடத்தறியுந்தாக்கு
கொக்காப்பறம்பில்க் கண்டங்கண்டனும் அறியும் தானமண்
கோடடத்துகேரள மீசுவரனும் அறியும் ஆதி திருவிக்கிர
மன்பர்நனும் அறியும் பட்டாழிக் கோவிந்நங் குமரனும்
அறியும் இப்படிக்குமே கைதவாயக்கண்டன் (9) உதயன்னன்
எழுத்து.

No. $\frac{10}{61}$. VAṬṬEḶUTTU.

திருவனந்தபுரம் ஸ்ரீபத்மநாபசுவாமிகோயில் இரண்டாம்பிராகார 'இடைநாழி'(a)யின் தென்புறச் சிறுசுவரில்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கற்கடகத்தில் வியாழந்நின்றயாண்டு கொல்லம் ௫௱௮௰௪ * * * * * (2) ளால் திருவானந்தபுரத்து ஸஹயுஞ்சமஞ்சிதனும் மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து தெக் * * * * * * (3) ன்னதியில்கூடியிருந்தருளி யெடத்து திருவேணாட்டடிகள் ஸ்ரீவீர இராமங் * * * * * (4) ங்கப்பல்லவரையன் திருவானந்தபுரத்து பெருமாளுக்குத் திருவமிர்தின்னுந்த * * * * (5) நாணாழியிலும் ஒரு ப்ராஹ்மணர் அமிர்து செய்த (b) தினு வேண்டும் வெஞ்சனம் * * * * * (6) தறைமேல் நிச்சல் நடைபாட்டமாளுமவர்கைவழிபெருமாள் பறயால் அளவுகொ * * * * (7) திங்கப்பல்லவரயன்குள்ள செய்யமண்ணுங் களத்தூரும் சிறைமறமும் செழஞ் * * * * * (8) கரையும் கரைப்புரையிடத்தில் மேலும் ஆண்டுவரையும் பங்குனி உத்திரத்தி * * * * (9) நிச்சல் நடயோடுகூடகூழமிட்டு அகத்து பந்தீரடிக்கு ஒருநேர் அமிர்து * * * * * (10) வர ஒரோதிருமால கெட்டிச்சார்த்தி வருவது இந்நெல் ஒருதுடைமுட்டு * * * * * * (11) ட அடுத்து முட்டுகில் ௫ ஸம்மு தடுத்துவச்சு நெல்லும் அளவு கொள்வித்து தந்த * * * * * (12) ம் வருகில் ஸ்ரீபாதமூலம் சென்று தீர்த்து கொடுப்பிது இவை கைதவளாகத்து * * * * * (13) னற (c) யாண்டு கொல்லம் ௫௱௮௰௫ யாமாண்டு விரிச்சிக ஞாயிறு.

(a) இடைநாழி is Malayalam for a low passage between two rooms.

(b) செய்ததினு looks like a mistake for செய்வதினு.

(c) னற may be taken as ன்ற also in which case the interpretation I have given in the lecture will not hold good. But it is altogether improbable that the date with which the document begins is repeated in the end for no special reason. I prefer, therefore, to take it as standing for அற or அன.

No. $\frac{11}{20}$. VAṬṬEḶUTTU.

கடினங்குளத்து மஹாதேவர்கோயில் வடமேற்கு அஸ்திவாரச்சுவரில்

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ குப்பவ்வியாழத்தில்க்கொல்லம் ஈுா அ௰கூ தாமாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டை மீன ஞாயிறு ௰அ (2) சென்றவியாழமாண்டபூயமுந் தெசமியு மேடமும் அன்று கீழ்ப்பேரூர் ஸ்ரீ வீர இராமங்கோளவர் (3) மதிருவடிவேணுடுவாழ்ந்தருள ஸ்ரீ வீர இராமனுமையம்மை வி[ள்ளவர்] திருவடிபிரதிட்டைப (4) ண்ணிச்சருளிது.

No. $\frac{12}{91}$. Do.

பத்மநாபபுரத்துக்கு அடுத்த மணலிக்கரை ஆழ்வார் கோயில் முன்பு நட்டிநக்கும் கல்லில் உள்ளசிலாலிகிதம்.

I. *ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ வ்ருஶ்சிகத்தில் (2) வியாழநின்றயாண்டு (3) கொல்லம் நானூற்று இரு (4) பதாமாண்டைக்கெதிராமா (5) ண்டு மேடஞாயிறு ௰எ சென் (6) றநாள் வேணுடுவாண் (7) ணருளி (7) ன்ற ஸ்ரீ வீர இரவிகோள (8) வர்ம்மதிருவடிக் (9) கமை (9) ந்த அதிகாரிகளும் கோதைந (10) ல்லூர் ஸபைஹ யாரும் ஊர் (11) சாரும் (மேற்படி) ஊர்க்கடமைத்தடின் (12) றமருதகச் சேரிக்கண்டந்தி (13 ருவிக்கிரமனும்கூடி (14) ப்பறஞ்ஞு ஸபைஹ நடயி (15) ல் இறைவரிநிலம் * * (16) த்தின் மேலும் அரக்கல் (17) கலச்செ ஈவு நெல் * * * (18) உ௰ச ம் சாரல்கடமைக்கு ஈ (19) வுகலச்ச * * * உ௰ச மா (20) க ஆண்டுவரை கடமைக்கு க (21) லச்செ ஈவு நெல் * * * * * (22) வும் ஊரடவு இறைநிலம் (22) * * * * த்தின்மேலும் அர.*

II. *(1) க் கல்கடமைக்கு கலச்செ ஈவு (2) நெல் * * * உ௰ச ம் சாரல்கு (3) கலச்செ ஈவு நெல்* * * * * * (4) * * *உ௰ச மாக ஆண்டுவரை கடமை (5) க்கு கலச்செ ஈவுநெல் * * * (6) * * * * * * மாக இறுக்கு (7) மாறும் கடமை அளந்நா (8) ல்வரிபுள்ளி பாஞ்ஞுத (9) ருமாறும் கரணமெழுதின்ற (10) வர்ள்கைய்யில்த் திரதாவுஒ (11) ழியுமாறுங்கல்ப்பிச்சேம்க (12) டமைக்கு நெல்லளந்நா (13) ல் வரியில்ப் புள்ளி பாஞ்ஞு * * (14) துவாமிகையில் தாவு கொள்க ஒழிவ (15) து கடமைசென்று செல்லாத்த*

தின்னு (16) ஆண்டுவரையும் ஸஹெயாரையும் (17) ஊரா ரையும் வளைச்சு அஞ்சாலி (18) எழுதிப்பிடிப்பிச்சு கடமை (19) யுங்கொண்டு வருவிது கரிவொள் (20) எகாலத்து ஸஹெயாருயும் ஊரா (21) ரும் பற்று கண்டு அஞ்சொன்று (22) ஞல் வுண்டாக்கின்ற முதலுங்கூட் (23) டிவிளவொ ள்ள நிலத்தின்மேல் (24) கடமை கொடுப்பிது கரிஞ்ஞகட (25) மை யற்றி என்று தோன்றுகில் த (26) பையாருமூ ராரும் துவாமியோடு (27) சொன்ஞ [ல்] துவாமி பற்று கண்டு அ (28) ஞ்சொன்று கொள்விது இம்முதலி(29) ல் பட்டவிருத்தி ஓணச் செலவின் (30) னுள்ள * * மும் அஞ்சொன்றில் (31) கழிவிது நடுவில் மொழிஞ்ஞு த (32) பையார்க்கும் ஊரார்க்கும்.

III. மிக்கும் (2) செனத்தின் (3) னு ஒத்தொ (4) ரு வழிவே (5) ண்டகில் (6) அம்முதல் (7) கு இறநி (8) லத் தின் (9) மேல்வரி (10) யு மெழுதி (11) க்கொடுத்து (12) அம்முதல் (13) க்குபலி (14) செயும் ப (15) ட்டரியுமொ (16) ழிஞ்ஞு தண் (17) டிக்கொண்டு (18) வரியும் (19) புள் ளிபா (20) ஞ்ஞுஞேவி (21) து இம்மா (22) ர்க்கமன்றி (23) யே செய்யோ (24) ருளாகில் (25) * * * * * * (26) * * * * * * * (27) * * * * த

IV. ண்டமும் (2) வெச்சுபி (3) ன்னேயுங் இ (4) ச்செய்த தே (5) காரியமா (6) விதாகவும் (7) ஆசருயா (8) வல்கல் (9) ப்பிச்சு (10) எழுதிய தரவு (11) திருமுகத் (12) தில் ப்பட் (13) டமார்க்க (14) மே எழுதிய (15) மைக்கு இ (16) து கல்வெட் (17) டாகும்.(a)

No. $\frac{13}{48}$. VAṬṬEḺUTTU.

வர்க்கலையில் ஸ்ரீகோயில் தென்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ மேடத்தில் புகுவியாழந்நின்றயாண்டு கொல் லம் சாஉயிள மாண்டை இடவஞாயிறு இருபத்து ஒன்று சென்ற புதனுழ்ச்சையும் பூவ்வபக்ஷத்தில் பஞ்சமியும் (2)

(a) I to IV mark the four sides of the tablet. It will be seen how corrupt the language of the document is. Does it show that it was drafted by a member of the Kôdaiallûr Sabha, and not by the hereditary clerk of the crown as usual? It freely mixes up Tamil and Malayalam, as is still done by the illiterate classes in Nánjinâd.

அன்றே கர்க்கடகம் இராசிகொண்டு வர்க்கலை உதைய மாத்தாண்டபுரத்து வடசேரிகர சிரிகோயில் அதிட்டானம் துடங்ஙி உத்தரத்தோளமு[ம்] கெர்ப்ப (3) கிரிகமும் தளக்கல்லும் கூடக்கருங்கல்பணியும் செயிச்சு சிரிமானம் செம்பும்மேயிச்சு சிரிமுகமண்டபமும் புதுக்கிப்பணியும் செயிச்சு திருக்க (4) லையுமும் ஆடிச்சருளிய வேணாடுவாழ்ந்தரு[ள்] சிரிவீர பத்தனாபம்மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமைஞ்ச அதிகாரர்.

No. 14/69. OLD TAMIL.

பத்மநாபபுரத்துக்குஅடுத்த கோளபுரம் கோயில் தென்புற அஸ்திவாரச்சுவரில்.

கொல்லம் ௬௱௯௰௧ மாண்டை யாண்டு ௪-வது கும்ப ஞாயிறு ௨௰ சென்றநாள் செய்த காரியமாவது வேணாடுவாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீவீரஉதையமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடியார் வீரபாண்டிய தேவர்க்கு அமைந்த அதிகாரர்க்கு வுள்ள தென்னாட்டில் செங்கழு நீர் நாடு (2) முதல்நாட்டில்பால்க்கோட்டுதேசம் முத்தலைக்குறிச்சி ஸ்ரீவீரகோள ஈச்சுவரத்துமாதேவர்க்கு செலவின்னும் திருநந்தா விளக்கின்னும் எழுதிவிட்டுக்கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர் இம்மார்க்கமே இத்தேசத்து கழியக்கம் கொள்ளும் ஒட்டிரகடமையும் உவ்வியும் வேய்நெல்லும் அழகெ (3) ருதும் தறிதலைபணம்பாட்டமும் கணைப்பற்றும் அழிவு பிழையும் கோமுறைபாடும் கூடவிட்டுக்கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர் இவ்வண்ணமே இத்தேசத்து திருவிதான்க்கோட்டு மாதேவர்க்கும் பாக்கோட்டு தேவர்க்கும் பகவதிக்கும் கழியக்கம் ஒள்ளது நீங்கலாக ஒள்ள ஒட்டிறகடமையும் உவ்வியும் வேய் (4) நெல்லும் அழகெருதும் தறிதலைபணம்பாட்டமும் கரைப்பற்றும் அழிவுபிழையும் கோன்முறைபாடும்க் கூட ஆசந்திரதாரவல் வீரகோள ஈச்சுவரத்தும்மாதேவர்க்கு செலவினும் திருநந்தா விளக்கினும் எழுதிவிட்டு கொடுத்தெடத்து அறியும் தாழக்கிபுலவரமண் சாத்தன் மணியனும் அறியும் பெணா (5) நாட்டு நாராணன் குடிசனும் அறியும் பட்டாழிகண்டன் இரவிவர்ம்மன் எழுத்து புனலூரி * * * திரிவிக்கிரமன் எழுத்து இவகள்ளறிய யோலை கைய்எழுதிய கைய்தைவா இராமன் கோளன் எழுத்து.